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MIGRATION INTERPROVINCIALE DANS LA ZONE BILINGUE DU CANADA

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PAR
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LISTE DES ABBRÉVIATIONS

MAI/IAM	Modèle d'acculturation interactif/Interactive Acculturation Model
IMGC	Intergroup model of group conflict
ÉACA/HCAS	Échelle d'acculturation de la communauté d'accueil/Host Community Acculturation Scale
ÉACI/IAS	Échelle d'acculturation des communautés immigrantes/Immigrant Acculturation Scale
RICE/INEC	Réseau individuel de contacts ethnolinguistiques/Individual network of ethnolinguistic contacts
BEVQ	Beliefs about Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire
L1	Langue maternelle
L2	Langue seconde
PLOP	Première langue officielle parlée
LLO	Loi sur les langues officielles
RDC/ROC	Reste du Canada/Rest of Canada
CF/FC	Canadiens-français/French Canadian
CA/EC	Canadiens-anglais/English Canadian
QF	Québécois francophones
QA	Québécois anglophones

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse aborde la question du désir de migration interprovinciale des francophones et des anglophones de la « zone bilingue du Canada » qui s'étend du Nouveau-Brunswick à l'Ontario en passant par le Québec (Lieberson, 1970). Plus particulièrement, nous cherchons à expliquer la tendance de personnes appartenant à divers groupes linguistiques dans une quelconque province à vouloir s'installer dans d'autres. Pour faire notre étude, nous avons effectué un sondage parmi les Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick et les Franco-Ontariens, qui sont minoritaires à l'échelle provinciale et fédérale, et parmi les deux communautés linguistiques au Québec : les francophones qui sont majoritaires au sein de la province mais minoritaires au niveau national, et les anglophones qui constituent une minorité au niveau provincial alors qu'ils forment la majorité au Canada.

La thèse traite également des nombreuses implications économiques, sociales et démographiques découlant des migrations intra-nationales et leurs conséquences pour les communautés d'accueils des régions d'établissement. Alors que la migration intra-nationale se caractérise par des mouvements de population d'une région à l'autre dans le même pays, la migration internationale implique des immigrants étrangers en attente de citoyenneté dans les pays où ils se sont établis. Malgré cette différence, les deux types de migration ont en commun un ensemble de causes fondamentales et partagent des tendances migratoires complémentaires, se renforçant l'une et l'autre selon les clivages régionaux dans les domaines économiques, linguistiques, ethniques et religieux (King & Skeldon, 2010). Les recherches portant sur la migration interprovinciale au Canada ont démontré surtout l'importance des facteurs économiques qui font que les Canadiens se dirigent principalement vers les provinces offrant de meilleurs emplois et salaires que leur province d'origine (Coulombe & Tremblay, 2009). En outre, Bernard, Finnie et St-Jean (2008) identifient la langue comme un corrélat des migrations interprovinciales, ayant démontré que les Québécois anglophones sont dix fois plus susceptibles de quitter le Québec que les anglophones du reste du Canada et que les francophones du reste du Canada sont trois fois plus susceptibles de quitter leur province d'origine comparés à la population canadienne générale.

Un premier but de cette thèse est d'appliquer deux cadres théoriques portant sur les relations entre les communautés d'accueil et les immigrants internationaux dans le contexte de migration interprovinciale au Canada, notamment le modèle d'acculturation interactif (MAI; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Sénécal, 1997) et l'*Instrumental Model of Group Conflict* (IMGC; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998). Selon l'IMGC, quand les membres d'une communauté d'accueil perçoivent une

situation de compétition entre eux et les communautés immigrantes pour des ressources limitées, ils développent des attitudes défavorables envers celles-ci. Un deuxième but, s'appuyant sur ces modèles, est de mieux comprendre la tendance des francophones et anglophones d'émigrer vers une autre province canadienne, tenant compte des facteurs économiques, psychologiques et sociaux. Dans les 2 premières études effectuées pour la présente thèse, nous avons obtenu la participation de 656 étudiants universitaires francophones dont 204 au Québec, 227 au Nouveau-Brunswick et 227 en Ontario. L'étude 3 a été menée au Québec où nous avons obtenu la participation de 205 étudiants anglophones et de 234 étudiants francophones. Dans les trois études les étudiants francophones et anglophones ont complété des questionnaires comprenant une série d'échelles, de types Likert, qui ont servi à mesurer des variables portant sur les questions de migration et d'accueil de migrants interprovinciaux et internationaux.

Notre première étude porte sur la question suivante : Les francophones de la région bilingue sont-ils plus favorables à l'arrivée de migrants interprovinciaux canadiens-français que les migrants canadiens-anglais malgré l'identité nationale canadienne qu'ils ont en commun ? Les francophones se sentent-ils plus menacés par les migrants anglophones et ce, en raison d'un souci pour la vitalité de leur communauté linguistique ? D'après les résultats obtenus, nous avons pu conclure que les Québécois francophones, Acadiens et Franco-Ontariens préfèrent des migrants interprovinciaux/internationaux appartenant à leur propre groupe linguistique. L'étude démontre également que plus les francophones dans les trois provinces se sentent menacés par les migrants Canadien anglais, plus ils endossaient des attitudes négatives contre eux, et moins ils étaient favorables à les accueillir dans leur région.

La deuxième étude aborde les questions suivantes : Jusqu'à quel point les jeunes francophones du Québec, du Nouveau-Brunswick et de l'Ontario souhaitent-ils émigrer vers une région anglophone ou francophone du Canada ? Outre les raisons économiques et familiales, quelle place occupent les tensions linguistiques parmi les facteurs de migration ? Peut-on identifier des variables psychologiques susceptibles de représenter le profil de ceux qui aimeraient émigrer vers une destination intra-nationale ou internationale ? L'étude a conclu que la volonté d'émigrer vers une région/province francophone, une province anglophone ou vers les États-Unis était très faible pour les trois groupes de francophones; néanmoins, le facteur économique avait le plus grand poids explicatif. En ce qui a trait aux variables socio-psychologiques proposées comme corrélats, plusieurs ont permis de prédire la volonté d'émigrer parmi les trois groupes, y inclus l'endossement d'attitudes accueillantes favorables envers les migrants internes.

La troisième étude porte sur le désir d'émigrer des anglophones et francophones du Québec. En tant que minorité linguistique au Québec, les Québécois anglophones sont-ils plus disposés à vouloir quitter la province que les Québécois francophones ?

Comment le désir d'émigrer et les corrélats socio-psychologiques relatifs à la migration interprovinciale diffèrent-ils entre les deux groupes linguistiques ? Nos résultats démontrent que la volonté d'émigrer des Québécois anglophones est plus grande que celle des francophones, non seulement pour raison d'emploi mais aussi parce que les Québécois anglophones ressentent les tensions linguistiques au Québec et qu'ils ont l'impression d'être l'objet d'intolérance et de discrimination. Aussi, l'endossement des orientations d'acculturation intégrationniste et séparatiste ont émergé comme prédicteurs significatifs du désir des Québécois anglophones de s'exiler du Québec. Les Québécois francophones, quant à eux, envisageaient l'émigration vers les autres provinces canadiennes uniquement pour des raisons de développement personnel (avancement professionnel, études supérieures, expériences culturelles).

Globalement, les résultats de cette thèse soutiennent la persistance des 'deux solitudes' entre nos répondants francophones et anglophones. Pour les membres des deux communautés l'importance de la vitalité endogroupe semble être une considération principale lorsqu'ils songent à l'accueil de migrants francophones ou anglophones, selon le cas. Les motivations économiques semblent jouer également un rôle principal dans l'émigration bien que le rôle des tensions linguistiques et celui du désir de vivre une nouvelle expérience culturelle étaient non-négligeables. En outre, les facteurs sociopolitiques se sont avérés importants, surtout pour les Québécois anglophones. Les résultats suggèrent par ailleurs que les soucis des communautés d'accueil liés à la vitalité ethnolinguistique de l'endogroupe influencent l'attitude d'accueil envers divers groupes de migrants et ce selon leur contribution potentielle à la vitalité de leur communauté. Telles considérations doivent certainement avoir un impact réciproque quant à la volonté d'émigrer vers une autre province, ce qui laisse croire que la décision pourrait dépendre d'un sentiment de loyauté envers l'endogroupe. Cette thèse atteste aussi du rôle de certaines variables sociopsychologiques, telles les orientations d'acculturation et la perception de concurrence intergroupe, quant à la décision d'émigrer. Les implications théoriques et pratiques sont discutées dans le dernier chapitre à la lumière des résultats obtenus.

Mots clés : Canadiens-anglais, Canadiens-français, zone bilingue du Canada, vitalité ethnolinguistique, menace intergroupe, croyances à somme-nulle, deux solitudes, migration interprovinciale, orientations d'acculturation, discrimination.

CHAPITRE I

INTRODUCTION GÉNÉRALE

INTRODUCTION GÉNÉRALE

Le Canada est un pays à statut bilingue depuis l'adoption, en 1969, de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* (LLO), qui a institué l'anglais et le français comme langues officielles du pays. La LLO impose aux institutions et à plusieurs sociétés d'état fédérales l'obligation d'offrir leurs services dans les deux langues aux communautés francophones et anglophones du Canada. Dans la partie VII de la Loi, l'article 41 stipule notamment, dans sa version française, que « le gouvernement fédéral s'engage à favoriser l'épanouissement (en anglais, *vitality*) des minorités francophones et anglophones du Canada... » L'article 43 de la LLO attribue au ministre du Patrimoine canadien la responsabilité de prendre « les mesures qu'il estime indiquées pour favoriser la progression vers l'égalité de statut et d'usage du français et de l'anglais dans la société canadienne ». Ainsi, le budget des programmes d'appui aux langues officielles du ministère du Patrimoine canadien s'élève à 340 millions de dollars par année (Patrimoine canadien, 2012). De plus, le gouvernement fédéral a investi 3 milliards de dollars dans trois plans d'action quinquennaux (2003 à 2018) pour la promotion des langues officielles et des communautés de langue officielle minoritaires du Canada. En parallèle, il faut tenir compte qu'au Québec, le commissariat aux langues officielles, chargé d'assurer la qualité des services bilingues fédéraux et de la promotion du bilinguisme officiel, dépense environ 20 million de dollars par année. Selon plusieurs Québécois anglophones, le gouvernement fédéral n'intervient pas suffisamment pour assurer le respect de leurs droits relativement aux privilèges que la loi leur accorde en matière d'accès à des services en anglais.

Selon le recensement canadien de 2011, la population canadienne était répartie selon la langue maternelle comme suit : 19 137 520 (57,8%) anglophones, 7 172 560 (21,7%) francophones et 6 811 095 (20,6%) allophones dont la langue maternelle est

ni l'anglais ni le français (Statistique Canada, 2011). La zone bilingue du Canada – l'Ontario, le Québec et le Nouveau-Brunswick – comprend le plus grand nombre de personnes bilingues français/anglais au pays (Lieberson, 1970). Aussi, la plus forte présence de francophones hors Québec se retrouve au Nouveau-Brunswick et en Ontario. Le Tableau 1.1 présente le nombre et les proportions de francophones, anglophones et allophones de la zone bilingue du Canada. Cette thèse porte justement sur ces trois provinces, où il est question de la vitalité des communautés francophones et anglophones et des tendances migratoires interprovinciales de leurs habitants. Dans cette thèse, les termes Canadiens français (CF) et Canadiens anglais (CA) désignent ceux dont la langue maternelle est le français et l'anglais respectivement et dont les racines historiques et ancestrales sont canadiennes.

Tableau 1.1 Nombre de francophones, d'anglophones et d'allophones au Québec, en Ontario et au Nouveau-Brunswick en 2001 et 2011 ainsi que le pourcentage de la population provinciale que ces nombres représentent

		Québec	Ontario	Nouveau-Brunswick
		Nombre (%)	Nombre (%)	Nombre (%)
Francophones L1	2001	5 802 020 (81,4)	509 264 (4,5)	239 420 (33,3)
	2011	6 164 745 (78,9)	525 962 (4,1)	236 925 (32)
Francophones bilingues F/A	2001	2 126 596 (36,7)	452 708 (88,9)	171 530 (71,6)
	2011	2 379 935 (38,6)	462 653 (88)	168 722 (71,2)
Anglophones L1	2001	591 380 (8,3)	8 041 994 (71,3)	468 023 (65)
	2011	647 655 (8,3)	8 812 592 (69,2)	483 810 (65,3)
Anglophones bilingues F/A	2001	385 825 (66,8)	677 340 (8,4)	72 110 (15,4)
	2011	446 595 (69)	723 465 (8,2)	74 329 (15,4)
Allophones	2001	732 180 (10,3)	2 764 287 (24,2)	12 210 (1,7)
	2011	1 003 545 (12,8)	3 383 507 (26,6)	19 060 (2,6)
Allophones bilingues F/A	2001	379 630 (50,4)	189 678 (6,9)	2 150 (17,6)
	2011	502 205 (50)	209 683 (6,2)	2 839 (14,9)

Note. Langue maternelle = L1; connaissance d'une deuxième langue = bilingue français(F)/anglais(A). (Statistique Canada, 2001, 2011)

Mais quand est-il du bilan des accomplissements du bilinguisme officiel du gouvernement canadien depuis les dernières décennies ? Dans sa publication parue quelques mois avant sa nomination au poste de Commissaire aux langues officielles, Graham Fraser (2006) a affirmé qu'il y a encore beaucoup de travail à faire pour que la politique de bilinguisme officiel fonctionne vraiment au Canada. Il observa par exemple qu'il y a de moins en moins d'institutions où les francophones et anglophones ont l'occasion de réellement travailler ensemble dans les deux langues officielles. Suite aux vérifications annuelles qu'il effectue, le Commissaire soulignent des lacunes dans la prestation de services bilingues par les institutions et sociétés d'état fédérales (Commissariat aux langues officielles, 2015). L'éducation, ainsi que les soins de santé et de services sociaux sont de juridiction provinciale, ce qui rend parfois difficile et sporadique l'offre de services dans la langue préférée des communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire (Landry, 2014; Jedwab & Landry, 2011).

Tel que le propose Esman (1982), la politique de bilinguisme avait surtout comme but de convaincre les Québécois francophones qu'ils seront traités équitablement dans l'administration fédérale et qu'ils auront de bonnes raisons de s'engager pour un avenir bilingue au sein du Canada. Certaines critiques dans les médias ont remis en question l'existence de ce bilinguisme au-delà des sphères officielles de l'administration publique fédérale. D'une part, les critiques anglophones considèrent les coûts du bilinguisme comme étant trop onéreux vue la faible proportion de francophones hors Québec et le fait que la vaste majorité des francophones du RDC sont déjà bilingues et utilisent l'anglais quotidiennement notamment comme langue de travail (Reid, 1993). D'autre part, les nationalistes québécois de l'époque avaient rejeté la loi canadienne sur les langues officielles comme étant 'trop peu trop tard' et se mobilisèrent plutôt pour un Québec officiellement unilingue français enchâssé en 1977 par la Charte de la langue française (Loi 101; Corbeil, 2007; Gémard, 2008). Néanmoins, trente ans après l'adoption de la Charte de la langue française au Québec,

divers sondages mandatés par le gouvernement fédéral démontrent que les attitudes envers le bilinguisme sont de plus en plus favorables au Canada anglais et au Québec (Commissariat aux langues officielles, 2006). En outre, un sondage d'opinion publique mené à travers le Canada a révélé que 63% des francophones, comparés à 31% des anglophones étaient d'accord avec l'idée que la politique fédérale de bilinguisme aide à préserver l'unité canadienne; cette vision positive était la plus favorisée au Québec relativement aux autres provinces (*The Montreal Gazette*, 2008).

1.1 Vitalité ethnolinguistique

La dynamique des relations intergroupes entre les communautés francophones et anglophones au Québec et dans le RDC s'insère dans le cadre conceptuel de la vitalité ethnolinguistique. Celle-ci se définit comme « ce qui rend un groupe susceptible de fonctionner en tant qu'entité distincte et dynamique dans les contextes intergroupes » (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977, p. 308). Trois dimensions principales influencent la vitalité des communautés linguistiques, à savoir : la force démographique, le soutien institutionnel et le statut social.

Les variables démographiques ont trait au nombre absolu de membres composant la communauté linguistique et leur densité à l'intérieur d'un territoire urbain, régional ou national. Les facteurs numériques correspondent au nombre total des locuteurs de la communauté linguistique en termes absolus, son taux de natalité, son taux de mortalité, son degré d'endogamie et d'exogamie et ses tendances à l'immigration et à l'émigration. Pour les francophones de la zone bilingue, surtout ceux qui se retrouvent en situation minoritaire, la migration d'individus CF dans leur région pourrait être perçue comme un appui à la vitalité démographique de leur propre communauté francophone. Par contre pour ces mêmes francophones, la migration

d'individus CA dans leur région pourrait être considérée comme un facteur de minorisation et donc une potentielle réduction de leur vitalité démographique. Ce contraste peut expliquer aussi le plus grand nombre de CF qui émigrent au Québec relativement aux CA. Les facteurs de densité réfèrent à la concentration numérique des locuteurs dans différentes parties d'un territoire, à leur proportion par rapport aux locuteurs des exogroupes et au fait que chaque communauté linguistique occupe encore ou non son territoire « ancestral ». De plus, la vitalité démographique d'une minorité peut évoluer de façon négative quand la communauté linguistique est trop dispersée à l'échelle des territoires urbains ou régionaux.

Dans les pays démocratiques, les facteurs démographiques constituent un avantage pour les communautés linguistiques dans la mesure où la force du nombre peut leur servir à revendiquer légitimement le contrôle ou l'influence institutionnel nécessaire afin d'assurer la continuité intergénérationnelle de leur communauté au sein de sociétés multilingues (Bourhis, El-Geledi, & Sachdev, 2007). Le contrôle institutionnel est la dimension de vitalité par excellence requise par les communautés linguistiques pour maintenir et affirmer leur présence au sein des institutions privées et publiques telles que l'éducation, le gouvernement local, les soins de santé, le système judiciaire, la police, l'armée, le commerce, les médias, le monde des affaires et l'industrie. Toutefois, le contrôle institutionnel par les minorités linguistiques n'est pas nécessairement acquis une fois pour toutes. Il peut s'affaiblir en raison du déclin démographique ou d'un leadership communautaire inefficace pour empêcher l'érosion du soutien institutionnel existant, qui peut être causée par l'indifférence ou l'intolérance des majorités dominantes à l'égard des minorités linguistiques (Bourhis et al., 2007).

Les communautés linguistiques qui ont réussi à acquérir un certain avantage quant aux facteurs de soutien institutionnel sont aussi susceptibles de bénéficier d'un statut social non négligeable dans les États multilingues, les variables étant reliées aux

facteurs suivants : le prestige sociohistorique d'une communauté linguistique au sein de l'État (p. ex. peuple fondateur); le statut actuel en fonction de son dynamisme, le rayonnement culturel et la prospérité économique; le prestige de sa langue et de sa culture au plan local, national et international, ainsi que l'aménagement linguistique enchâssant le statut des langues d'un état ou d'une région.

La façon dont les locuteurs perçoivent la vitalité de leur propre communauté linguistique et celle des exogroupes se nomme *vitalité ethnolinguistique subjective* et peut être mesuré à l'aide de l'échelle de la vitalité subjective (Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981). La vitalité subjective peut s'avérer aussi importante que les évaluations objectives basées sur les données des recensements et les mesures de soutien institutionnel (Abrams, Barker, & Giles, 2009). Un survol des recherches effectuées sur le sujet montre que, généralement, les membres des minorités et majorités linguistiques sont réalistes dans leurs perceptions subjectives de vitalité par rapport aux tendances qui se dégagent des évaluations objectives, bien que certains biais perceptuels de la vitalité endogroupe et exogroupe fussent identifiés par les recherches empiriques (Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994). La vitalité ethnolinguistique subjective comprend des croyances appelées *exocentriques* parce qu'elles réfèrent à des perceptions de faits ou situations langagières qui sont externes à la personne. Les perceptions *égocentriques* de vitalité portent sur la volonté personnelle des individus de s'impliquer dans la promotion de la vitalité endogroupe par rapport à celle des exogroupes et elles prédisent très bien le comportement langagier (Allard & Landry, 1986, 1994).

Dans les études que nous avons menées, nous nous sommes intéressés surtout aux perceptions de vitalité « égocentriques » des individus membres des communautés francophones et anglophones de la zone bilingue. Nous posons la question suivante : jusqu'à quel point les Franco-Ontariens, Acadiens, et Québécois francophones et anglophones souhaitent-ils se mobiliser personnellement afin d'améliorer la vitalité

de leur propre communauté relativement à celle d'un exogroupe linguistique ? Un aspect novateur de cette thèse est l'élargissement du cadre de vitalité pour inclure la perception de la contribution des migrants internes francophones et anglophones à la vitalité endogroupe francophone de l'Acadie, du Québec et de l'Ontario. La question suivante s'ensuit : Est-ce que les francophones de chaque province préfèrent des migrants appartenant à l'endogroupe linguistique parce qu'ils perçoivent ceux-ci comme meilleurs contributeurs à leur vitalité francophone locale ? Les deux questions permettent de mieux saisir le niveau de conscience et de positionnement stratégique des francophones face aux potentiels impacts de l'immigration interprovinciale sur la vitalité endogroupe.

1.2 Orientations d'acculturation des communautés immigrantes et d'accueil

Les francophones et anglophones, notamment de la zone bilingue, forment les deux communautés d'accueil principales non seulement pour les immigrants internationaux, mais aussi pour les migrants interprovinciaux d'origines CF et CA. Lorsque des groupes ethnolinguistiques tels que les anglophones et les francophones se trouvent en contact soutenu les uns avec les autres, il s'ensuit un processus de changements culturels et psychologiques bidirectionnels nommé acculturation (Berry, 1997; Sam, 2006). Pour mieux comprendre le processus, il faut interpréter les attitudes de la majorité d'accueil envers les minorités immigrantes puisqu'elles ont un grand impact sur la réussite de l'intégration de ces minorités dans les communautés d'accueil. De même, les membres de la majorité d'accueil ont une influence considérable sur les politiques d'immigration et d'intégration adoptées par les décideurs des pays d'établissements. Dans les études portant sur les relations entre les membres des communautés d'accueil et les immigrants, on évoque surtout les stratégies d'adaptation de ces derniers. Pourtant, tel que proposé dans le Modèle

d'Acculturation Interactif (MAI) les recherches confirment que les orientations d'acculturation des communautés d'accueil déterminent en partie les orientations d'acculturation des minorités immigrantes, autant au Canada, qu'aux États-Unis et en Europe (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Chaque orientation correspond à un ensemble d'attitudes, de croyances et d'intentions qui influence le comportement des individus au sein d'une communauté d'accueil quelconque. Le Modèle d'Acculturation Interactif tient compte à la fois : a) des orientations d'acculturation des immigrants et b) de celles des membres de la communauté d'accueil ainsi que c) des relations intergroupes – harmonieuses, problématiques ou conflictuelles – découlant des orientations d'acculturation des communautés d'accueil/immigrantes concordantes vs discordantes (Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey, & Barrette, 2010; Figure 1.1).

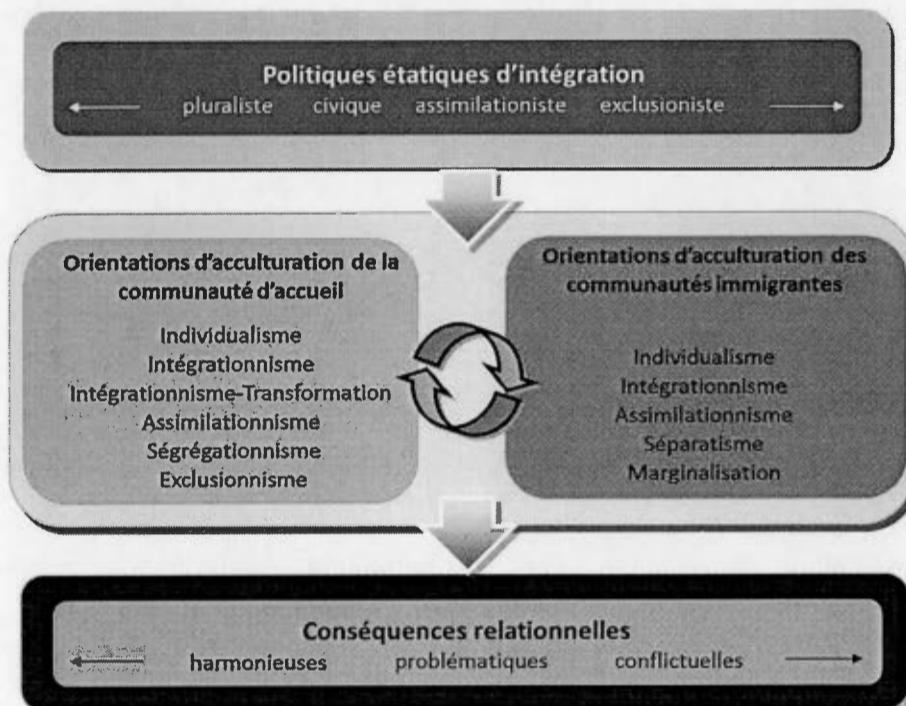


Figure 1.1 Modèle d'acculturation interactif (MAI; Bourhis et al., 1997; 2010)

Ce modèle propose cinq orientations d'acculturation pouvant être endossées par les immigrants envers les membres d'une communauté d'accueil : l'intégrationnisme, l'individualisme, l'assimilationnisme, le séparatisme et la marginalisation. Étant donné la nature interactive des relations intergroupes, le MAI postule que les orientations d'acculturation des immigrants et celles d'une communauté d'accueil sont tributaires d'influences réciproques. Pour les immigrants qui endossent l'orientation *intégrationniste*, il est important à la fois de maintenir leur identité, et donc ses caractéristiques culturelles, et d'adopter la culture de la communauté d'accueil. L'orientation *individualiste* se rapporte à ceux qui se définissent et définissent les autres en tant qu'individus ayant des qualités et accomplissements, plutôt que comme membres de groupes sociaux ou culturels. Pour les immigrants qui endossent l'orientation *assimilationniste*, il est préférable de renoncer à sa culture d'origine pour adopter celle de la majorité d'accueil. Pour les immigrants qui adoptent l'orientation *séparatiste*, il est très important de maintenir leur propre culture, tout en refusant d'adopter un aspect quelconque de la culture de la majorité d'accueil. La *marginalisation* quant à elle caractérise les immigrants qui ne se sentent ni à l'aise en tant que membre de leur communauté d'origine, ni acceptés par les membres de la majorité d'accueil.

Le MAI définit six orientations que les membres de la communauté d'accueil peuvent adopter envers les immigrants, trois d'entre elles accueillantes : l'individualisme, l'intégrationnisme et l'intégrationnisme de transformation; et trois moins accueillantes : l'assimilationnisme, le ségrégationnisme et l'exclusionnisme. L'*intégrationnisme* caractérise ceux qui acceptent et apprécient les immigrants qui maintiennent leur culture d'origine tout en adoptant certains éléments de la culture d'accueil. L'*intégrationnisme de transformation* est adopté par les membres de la communauté d'accueil qui, en plus d'adhérer à l'attitude intégrationniste, sont prêts à modifier certains aspects de leur propre culture pour faciliter l'intégration des immigrants. L'*individualisme* consiste à se définir et à définir les autres comme

individus plutôt que membres de catégories sociales ou ethnoculturelles. Dans leurs relations avec les immigrants, l'individualiste met en valeur les caractéristiques personnelles, les compétences et les réalisations personnelles des migrants plutôt que leur appartenance catégorielle.

Les *assimilationnistes* sont ceux qui considèrent que les immigrants doivent renoncer à leur culture d'origine pour adopter la culture de la communauté d'accueil. Les *ségrégationnistes* préfèrent que les immigrants ne se mélangent pas aux membres de leur communauté pour ne pas influencer ou diluer la culture d'accueil majoritaire, bien conscients que les immigrants conserveront leur culture d'origine. Enfin, les membres d'une communauté d'accueil favorisant l'*exclusionnisme* ne tolèrent ni le maintien de la culture d'origine des immigrants ni l'adoption de la culture d'accueil par ces derniers, préférant plutôt que le moins d'immigrants possible s'établissent dans leur région ou quartier.

Plusieurs études sur les orientations d'acculturation endossées par diverses communautés d'accueil envers les immigrants ont été réalisées dans des pays et régions ayant différentes politiques étatiques d'immigration et d'intégration. Ces types d'études ont été menées au Québec (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; 2004; Bourhis, Barrette & Moriconi, 2008), en Californie (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009), en Allemagne (Zagefka & Brown, 2002), en France (Barrette, Bourhis, Personnaz, & Personnaz, 2004), en Belgique (Montreuil, Bourhis, & Vanbeselaere, 2004) et en Israël (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Bourhis, Dayan, & Sioufi, 2012). Les résultats indiquent que les participants universitaires endossent fortement les orientations individualiste et intégrationniste, moyennement l'assimilationnisme et très peu le ségrégationnisme et l'exclusionnisme. La culture organisationnelle des universités, qui valorise la méritocratie et l'accomplissement individuel indépendamment de l'appartenance ethnique, culturelle ou religieuse, peut expliquer en partie l'adoption soutenue de l'individualisme et de l'intégrationnisme même dans

les États ou les idéologies d'intégration diffèrent sur le continuum allant de pluraliste, à assimilationniste, à ethniste (Bourhis et al., 2010).

Les orientations d'acculturations peuvent être également adoptées envers les minorités nationales (Bourhis et al., 2008). Les minorités nationales sont des groupes culturels établis avant la création d'une région administrative ou d'un État national. Les anglophones ainsi que les nations autochtones du Québec maintiennent tel statut à l'échelle fédérale et provinciale alors qu'au RDC, les francophones sont une minorité nationale. Au Québec, la majorité francophone et la minorité anglophone sont des communautés d'accueil rivales car leur vitalité démographique dépend en partie de l'intégration des immigrants dans leur communauté linguistique respective. L'étude de Montreuil et Bourhis (2004) a montré entre autres que les anglophones et allophones se sentent surtout menacés par les Québécois francophones, qui eux se sentent surtout menacés par les anglophones du Québec (Bourhis, 2012).

Jusqu'à présent, les recherches empiriques basées sur le MAI n'ont pas testé la perception de compétition intergroupe comme corrélat potentiel des orientations d'acculturation entre minoritaires et majoritaires. Le *Instrumental Model of Group Conflict* (IMGC) propose que la perception de compétition pour des ressources limitées est liée à des attitudes négatives des majorités d'accueil envers les immigrants et les minorités (p. ex. Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). Les membres des communautés d'accueils qui adhèrent à des croyances à somme-nulle (*zero-sum*) perçoivent les immigrants comme étant en compétition avec eux pour l'obtention de ressources concrètes valorisées (p. ex. emplois, promotions, logement) et/ou symboliques (ex: valeurs, religion). Un fort endossement des croyances à somme-nulle pourrait prédire des orientations d'acculturation peu accueillantes et des attitudes moins favorables envers les minorités nationales et les migrants interprovinciaux.

1.3 Migration internationale et interprovinciale

Plusieurs modèles provenant des sciences économiques et sociales servent comme guides pour la recherche orientée sur les motivations qui stimulent l'immigration internationale. Le modèle néoclassique « push-pull » met l'accent sur les facteurs économiques, notamment les différences de salaire et de taux de chômage entre le pays d'origine et les pays d'établissement, qui incitent à l'immigration en quête d'un meilleur futur économique (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, & Taylor, 1993). Les modèles micro-économiques du choix individuel se penchent sur le processus de prise de décision d'individus qui évaluent l'avantage d'immigrer en comparent les coûts et avantages économiques, sociaux et psychologiques au pays d'origine relativement à ceux du pays d'établissement (Massey & al., 1993). Les contributions de théories culturelles/systémiques proposent que la migration internationale implique un mouvement à partir des pays ou régions périphériques vers les pays centraux en développement économique et culturel plus dynamique (Hooghe, Trappers, Meuleman, & Reeskens, 2008). L'analyse des réseaux sociaux souligne les effets de la migration en chaîne, les immigrants étant attirés par la présence de membres de leur famille ou de leur communauté ethnique qui sont déjà établis au pays d'accueil. Au plan démographique, les études démontrent une tendance de flux migratoires de pays ayant une plus jeune population vers des pays dont la population est vieillissante, en Europe et en Amérique du nord (Kim & Cohen, 2010). Il y a aussi des circonstances non-économiques qui peuvent inciter les gens à quitter leur pays telles que la dégradation environnementale, les catastrophes naturelles, l'oppression politique/religieuse, les conflits intergroupes et les guerres (Weiner, 1992).

Bien que les explications de l'immigration internationale soient bien documentées, beaucoup moins d'attention a été accordée à celles de la migration interne ou interprovinciale. Tel que proposé par King et Skeldon (2010), conceptuellement, les

deux types de migration dérivent d'un même ensemble de causes fondamentales. Les tendances de migration internationale et intra-nationale sont complémentaires, se renforçant l'une et l'autre selon les clivages régionaux, politiques, économiques, ethniques, linguistiques et religieux. Les recherches portant sur la migration interprovinciale au Canada ont démontré l'importance des facteurs économiques mentionnés précédemment mais sans toutefois inclure les causes connexes telles que les tensions intergroupes ou linguistiques dans la province d'origine (Coulombe & Tremblay, 2009). Par ailleurs, Bernard, Finnie et St-Jean (2008) ont obtenu des résultats démontrant que la langue maternelle des Canadiens était un corrélât des migrations interprovinciales. Ainsi, les francophones du RDC étaient 3 fois plus susceptibles de quitter leur province d'origine comparés à la population générale et les anglophones du Québec qui étaient 10 fois plus susceptibles de quitter la leur vers le RDC.

Tableau 1.2 Migration interprovinciale à partir de/du et vers le Québec, l'Ontario et le Nouveau-Brunswick entre 2006 et 2011 selon la langue maternelle des individus

2006-2011	Québec	Ontario	Nouveau-Brunswick
Francophones – entrée	26,748	20,101	7,823
Francophones – sortie	29,334	20,978	6,843
Solde net (arrivées – sorties)	-2,586	-877	980
Anglophones – entrée	24,694	119,580	26,953
Anglophones – sortie	30,619	154,590	27,383
Solde net (arrivées – sorties)	-5,925	-35,010	-430

Au Tableau 1.2, notons aussi les migrations interprovinciales des francophones et des anglophones des trois provinces de la zone bilingue telles que documentées dans les recensements canadiens de 2006 à 2011.

Les deux peuples fondateurs du Canada, les francophones et anglophones – historiquement nommés Canadiens français (CF) et Canadiens anglais (CA) – forment les deux grandes communautés d'accueil des nouveaux arrivants (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). Ces communautés sont affectées non seulement par le mouvement migratoire international mais aussi par la migration interprovinciale, dont les impacts économiques, sociaux et démolinguistiques sur les provinces sont significatifs (Coulombe, 2006). Tel qu'indiqué au Tableau 1.2, il y a eu une perte nette de la population anglophone et francophone au Québec et en Ontario pour la période de recensement ciblée (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010). La perte nette d'anglophones au Québec est considérable si l'on tient compte de la population anglophone de la province relativement à celles des francophones (voir Tableau 1.1). Il faut aussi noter que dans la zone bilingue, seul le Nouveau Brunswick a un gain net de migrants interprovinciaux francophones.

Pour mieux comprendre un phénomène d'exode, il est important d'évaluer le taux de rétention, c'est-à-dire la proportion des membres d'un groupe linguistique particulier qui résident dans leur province de naissance d'une période de recensement à l'autre. Chez la majorité francophone du Québec, le taux de rétention demeure considérable et stable à 96% de 1971 à 2001. Pour les francophones du RDC, toute province confondue, le taux de rétention reste élevé à environ 84%. Par contre le taux de rétention des anglophones du Québec était de 69% au recensement de 1971, et n'était que de 50% trente ans plus tard en 2001 (Floch & Pocock, 2012). En ce qui concerne les gens nés au Canada qui ont *quitté* leur province entre 2001 et 2006, 62% d'entre eux qui avaient le français comme première langue officielle parlée (PLOP) se sont établis au Québec. Par contre, seulement 4,3% des migrants du RDC qui avaient

l'anglais ou une autre langue comme PLOP se sont établis au Québec entre 1991 et 2006 (Corbeil & Houle, 2010). Donc, le Québec demeure une destination de choix pour les migrants interprovinciaux francophones mais non pour les anglophones et allophones du RDC.

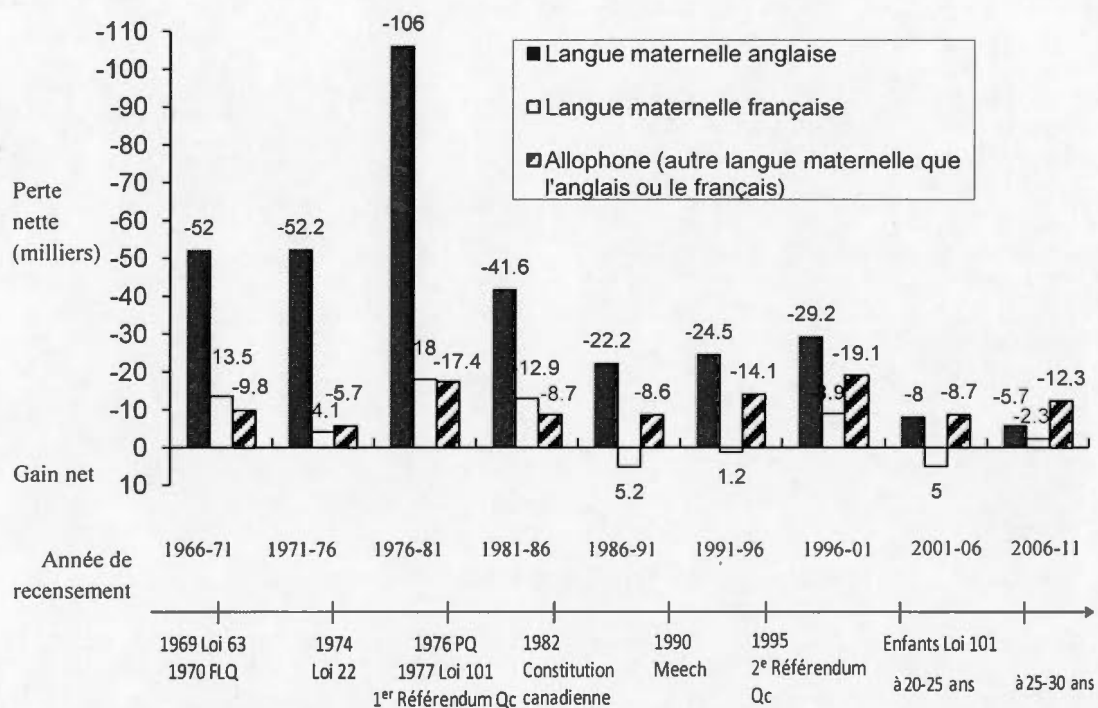


Figure 1.2 Événements critiques et bilan migratoire interprovincial net des anglophones, francophones et allophones au Québec: Arrivées – Départs = Perte nette, en milliers (k). Recensements du Canada: 1966-2011

La Figure 1.2 montre les flux migratoires interprovinciaux nets des francophones, anglophones et allophones, c'est-à-dire la soustraction du nombre de départs du nombre d'arrivées pour chacun de ces trois groupes linguistiques, les recensements qui ont eu lieu entre 1966 et 2011, les dates des événements historiques critiques survenus au Québec tout au long de la période de recensement. Comme l'indique la Figure 1.2, la perte nette de francophones du Québec est faible à près de 60 000

individus dans l'ensemble, bien que les flux migratoires interprovinciaux furent légèrement positifs de 1986 à 1996 et de 2001 à 2006. Pour les allophones, la perte nette interprovinciale est constante et s'élève à 104 400 individus entre 1966 et 2011. Les flux migratoires interprovinciaux représentent donc un enjeu majeur pour la minorité anglophone du Québec, qui a subi une perte de 340 000 individus pour l'ensemble de la période examinée, atteignant son sommet de 104 000 personnes entre 1976 et 1981.

Parmi les analyses socio-économiques effectuées sur la migration interprovinciale, c'est surtout le départ des anglophones du Québec qui a été étudié par rapport à la vitalité de cette communauté minoritaire de la province (Parenteau, Magnan, & Thibault, 2006; Floch & Pocock, 2012). Suite à l'élection du Parti Québécois en 1976 et l'adoption de la loi 101 en 1977, certains sociologues ont proposé que la minorité anglophone s'est sentie au pied du mur, ayant comme option soit d'accepter l'ascendance politique de la majorité francophone, soit de quitter la province vers le reste du Canada (Pettinicchio, 2012). Malgré la création du groupe de pression anglophone « Alliance Québec » et la fondation d'un parti politique « Equality Party » pour défendre les intérêts des communautés d'expression anglaise à l'Assemblée Nationale du Québec, les communautés anglophones ont eu beaucoup de mal à protéger leurs droits linguistiques et leurs institutions suite à l'adoption de la loi 101 et des autres lois favorisant le français par rapport à l'anglais au Québec (Stevenson, 1999). Il est intéressant de noter que les données du recensement de 2001 ont démontré que les anglophones ayant quitté le Québec et vivant dans une autre province canadienne avaient un meilleur revenu annuel et étaient plus susceptibles d'avoir un diplôme postsecondaire que les anglophones restés au Québec (Floch & Pocock, 2012). Le taux de bilinguisme ne distingue que très partiellement les anglophones ayant quitté le Québec de ceux qui sont restés. Il faut ajouter que pour l'ensemble des anglophones de 15 ans et plus ayant quitté le Québec, 61% étaient bilingues, alors que 71% de ceux qui sont restés étaient bilingues. Des entrevues avec

des anglophones qui ont quitté le Québec ont révélé que ces derniers ne se sentaient pas acceptés par la majorité francophone, surtout dans le monde du travail (Magnan, 2004). Selon un vaste sondage mené en 2003 par Statistique Canada, au Québec et au Canada (45 000 répondants), deux fois plus d'anglophones que francophones québécois ont déclaré avoir été personnellement victimes de discrimination, principalement en raison de leur langue ou accent (Linguicisme; Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, & Jantzen, 2007). Dans des entrevues avec des jeunes anglophones qui envisageaient l'émigration au Canada anglais, les motifs liés aux difficultés d'obtenir un emploi en tant qu'anglophone d'origine étaient encore plus souvent mentionnés que le contexte sociopolitique du Québec ou les lois linguistiques (Magnan, Gauthier, & Côté, 2007). Il faut noter que parmi ceux qui s'identifiaient surtout à la communauté anglophone, le sentiment d'être victime de discrimination, les lois linguistiques provinciales et la recherche d'un meilleur contexte économique ont été le plus fréquemment cités.

Bien que les facteurs économiques (emploi/chômage) qui expliquent la migration interprovinciale soient bien documentés (p. ex. Newbold, 2008; Coulombe, 2009), les économistes n'ont pas inclus dans leurs analyses les facteurs sociaux et psychologiques telle la perception d'être personnellement et/ou collectivement victime de discrimination. Par ailleurs, les recherches en psychologie sociale n'ont que peu exploré les facteurs sociaux et économiques incitant les personnes à quitter leur région/province (facteurs *push*) et ceux qui les attirent vers une autre région/province au sein d'un état bilingue tel que le Canada (facteurs *pull*). Les diverses configurations de ces facteurs seront examinées dans cette thèse pour expliquer les enjeux des mouvements migratoires interprovinciaux des francophones et des anglophones de la zone bilingue.

1.4 Présentation des trois études

1.4.1 Étude 1 – Deux ou trois solitudes ? Vitalité et attitudes ethnolinguistiques des Québécois francophones, Acadiens et Franco-Ontariens

Les francophones de la région bilingue sont-ils plus favorables à l'arrivée de migrants interprovinciaux canadiens-français que canadiens-anglais malgré la citoyenneté et l'identité nationale canadienne qu'ils ont tous en commun ? Ces mêmes francophones se sentent-ils plus menacés par les migrants anglophones et ce, en raison de leur souci pour la vitalité de leur communauté linguistique ? La première étude a comme but de comprendre les Québécois francophones, Acadiens, Franco-Ontariens quant à 1) leur perception de toute menace identitaire qu'ils subiraient par la présence d'exogroupes CF et CA; 2) leur préférence pour des migrants CF vs CA provenant des autres provinces; et 3) leur perception de la contribution de migrants CA à leur vitalité endogroupe afin de 4) vérifier la relation entre ces variables et 5) dresser le profil socio-psychologique de chacun des trois groupes de répondants francophones.

Nous mettons de l'avant trois hypothèses en concurrence. Premièrement, celle des *deux solitudes* qui propose que, dans les trois provinces, les francophones préféreront des migrants interprovinciaux CF relativement aux CA. D'un côté les CF pourraient être plus « valorisés » que les CA étant donné les rivalités historiques et courantes entre francophones et anglophones et d'un autre côté les migrants CF seraient plus susceptibles que les migrants CA de contribuer à la vitalité démographique francophone. L'hypothèse des *trois solitudes* par contre attribue la préférence des migrants interprovinciaux CF aux rivalités historiques qui existent non seulement entre les CF et CA mais aussi entre les différentes communautés francophones du Canada. Selon ces deux hypothèses, nous nous attendons à ce que les trois groupes de francophones perçoivent que leur endogroupe provincial contribue le plus authentiquement à la vitalité de leur communauté locale comparé aux migrants CF des autres provinces. Enfin, la troisième hypothèse s'inspire du modèle de l'*identité de l'endogroupe supraordinal* (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kafati, 2000). Ce modèle

propose que les Québécois francophones, Acadiens et Franco-Ontariens soient conscients du fait qu'ils partagent une identité culturelle/linguistique commune avec tous les CF ainsi qu'une identité nationale en tant que citoyens canadiens avec les CF et CA. Selon le modèle, les répondants francophones auraient des attitudes identiques envers les migrants CF et CA, les deux étant perçus comme égaux en tant que citoyens Canadiens.

1.4.2 Étude 2 – Migration interprovinciale dans la zone bilingue du Canada : volonté et motivations

Jusqu'à quel point les jeunes francophones du Québec, du Nouveau-Brunswick et de l'Ontario souhaiteraient-ils émigrer vers une région anglophone ou francophone du Canada ? Outre les raisons économiques et familiales, quelle place occupent les facteurs de tensions linguistiques dans leur volonté d'émigrer ? Peut-on identifier des variables socio-psychologiques susceptibles de constituer le profil de ceux qui aimeraient émigrer vers une destination intra-nationale et internationale ? Cette deuxième étude tente de répondre à ces questions en évaluant 1) la volonté des Québécois francophones, des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick et des Franco-Ontariens d'émigrer vers une région ou province francophone ou une province anglophone ainsi que 2) leurs motivations sous-jacentes, entre autres, les avantages économiques, les réunifications familiales et/ou les tensions linguistiques. Elle a aussi comme objectifs 3) d'identifier les variables socio-psychologiques qui prédisent la volonté d'émigrer vers une autre province; et 4) de tester le chevauchement entre les facteurs qui déterminent la migration interprovinciale et vers les États-Unis.

Bien que les tensions linguistiques entre francophones et anglophones caractérisent le contexte passé et présent des trois provinces de la zone bilingue, le statut de minorité

de faible vitalité peut encourager les Acadiens et Franco-Ontariens à émigrer vers le Québec, la seule province du Canada ayant une majorité francophone de forte vitalité. Quant aux migrants Québécois francophones, étant membres de la majorité, nous nous attendons à ce qu'ils cherchent à éviter les situations où ils seraient minoritaires dans le RDC, y inclus l'Ontario et le Nouveau-Brunswick. De surcroît, plusieurs corrélats socio-psychologiques découlant des deux cadres conceptuels suivants sont testés : la vitalité ethnolinguistique et l'acculturation. D'une part, nous proposons que les francophones du Québec qui envisagent de s'établir hors province tiennent compte du fait que leur migration affaiblit la vitalité démographique de l'endogroupe francophone dans la province. D'autre part, nous proposons qu'il existe un lien entre les orientations d'acculturation et la volonté d'émigrer de telle sorte que plus les francophones endossent les orientations d'acculturation accueillantes envers les migrants interprovinciaux dans la province ciblée, plus ils sont prêts à se déraciner pour s'installer dans telle province.

1.4.3 Étude 3 – Partir ou rester? Volonté et motivations des Québécois francophones et anglophones quant à l'émigration hors-Québec

En tant que minorité linguistique au Québec, les anglophones sont-ils présentement plus disposés à vouloir quitter la province que les francophones ? Comment les motivations et corrélats socio-psychologiques pour la migration interprovinciale diffèrent-ils entre les deux groupes linguistiques ? Ces questions ont guidé l'élaboration de la troisième étude de cette thèse, qui compare les Québécois francophones (QF) et Québécois anglophones (QA) à l'égard : 1) de leurs attitudes envers les exogroupes linguistiques; 2) de leur volonté de rester au Québec ou de déménager vers une autre province et des raisons qui les poussent à quitter; et 3) des

corrélats socio-psychologiques qui prédisent leur volonté d'émigrer, y inclus les orientations d'acculturation.

Une première hypothèse, basée sur l'effet de favoritisme pro-endogroupe (Brown, 2010), propose que les QF et QA préfèrent des migrants intra-nationaux ou internationaux appartenant à leur propre groupe linguistique. Dans le cadre de cette hypothèse, nous prévoyons des attitudes ambivalentes lorsqu'il s'agit des orientations d'acculturation des QF envers les QA et les migrants CA, perçus comme menace à la vitalité de la majorité québécoise francophone au profit de la minorité anglophone du Québec.

Compte tenu des tendances migratoires décrites ci-dessus et des considérations entourant la vitalité collective, il est probable que les QA aient une plus grande volonté d'émigrer vers les provinces majoritairement anglophones du RDC que les QF majoritaires au Québec. De plus, pour les deux groupes, les motivations d'émigrer peuvent aussi être individuelles, basées sur leurs soucis d'améliorer leur situation économique personnelle ou sur leur désir de rejoindre des membres de famille. Par ailleurs, au niveau collectif, les tensions linguistiques au Québec peuvent représenter un facteur contribuant à l'émigration interprovinciale vers le RDC surtout pour les membres de la minorité QA souvent victimes des lois linguistiques contribuant à l'érosion de la vitalité institutionnelle de leur communauté en déclin.

Nous avons par ailleurs examiné la volonté des QA et QF d'émigrer vers le RDC ou de rester au Québec en vérifiant les corrélats psychologiques suivants comme prédicteurs : les habiletés linguistiques en français/anglais, l'usage de ces langues dans la vie quotidienne, le degré d'identification avec l'endogroupe/l'exogroupe linguistique, la situation financière personnelle, la perception d'être personnellement et/ou collectivement victime de discrimination, la volonté de se mobiliser en faveur de la vitalité endogroupe, et l'endossement de croyances à somme-nulle (*zero-sum*).

1.5 Méthodologie

Nous avons utilisé le même type de répondants, de procédures et de questionnaires pour l'ensemble des trois études effectuées pour cette thèse.

1.5.1 Participants et procédure

Nous avons recruté des étudiants universitaires pour l'ensemble des trois études. Ceci nous a permis de tenir compte du statut socioéconomique et du niveau de scolarité des participants. Les étudiants furent recrutés du premier cycle parce que vu leur âge, leur niveau d'éducation universitaire et leur mobilité sociale, ceux-ci sont généralement plus ouverts à l'émigration comparés à des individus plus âgés, pour lesquelles l'émigration constituerait un déracinement radical au niveau professionnel, social, ou les deux.

Pour l'étude 1, l'échantillon ($n = 658$) regroupait 204 Québécois francophones, 227 Acadiens et 227 Franco-Ontariens, dont 443 étaient de sexe féminin et 215 de sexe masculin. Le même échantillon ($n = 658$) a été utilisé pour l'étude 2 : 204 Québécois francophones, 227 Acadiens et 227 Franco-Ontariens. Les étudiants qui ont été retenus dans l'échantillon de ces deux études répondaient aux critères d'inclusion suivants : avoir le français comme langue maternelle, être né et avoir grandi dans la province correspondant à chaque groupe cible (p. ex. les participants québécois étant nés et ayant grandis au Québec) et avoir des parents nés au Canada qui parlent français. L'étude 3 impliqua un échantillon de 234 Québécois francophones (QF) et 205 Québécois anglophones (QA) pour un total de 439 participants, 320 étant de sexe féminin et 117 de sexe masculin (2 données sont manquantes). Ont été retenus pour

l'analyse finale des données, ceux ou celles qui répondaient aux critères suivants : avoir le français (QF) ou l'anglais (QA) comme langue maternelle, être né et avoir grandi au Québec et avoir des parents nés au Canada qui parlent surtout le français (répondants QF) ou l'anglais (répondants QA). Les minorités visibles, ethniques, religieuses et immigrantes n'étaient pas représentées dans l'échantillon.

Les données ont été recueillies pendant les périodes de cours à l'aide de questionnaires français et anglais selon le choix des candidats sondés. Le temps requis pour compléter le questionnaire en classe était de 40 minutes. Les participants étaient des étudiants universitaires qui avaient entre 18 et 35 ans, recrutés des facultés d'éducation ou des sciences sociales des institutions suivantes : Université du Québec à Montréal (Québécois francophones), Université McGill (Québécois anglophones); Université de Moncton (Acadiens) ; Université d'Ottawa, Université Laurentienne, Collège Boréal (Franco-Ontariens). Nous avons obtenu d'avance l'approbation des comités d'éthiques de chacune de ces institutions pour mener ces études, lesquelles étaient subventionnées par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines.

1.5.2 Mesures

Chacun des items et échelles énumérés dans cette section correspondent à ceux du questionnaire complété par les Québécois francophones de l'UQAM (voir Appendice D). Le questionnaire utilisé pour les répondants québécois anglophones de l'Université McGill est inclus dans l'Appendice E. Les questionnaires utilisés pour les répondants Francophones de l'Acadie et de l'Ontario étaient sensiblement les mêmes que ceux utilisés pour les francophones du Québec mais avaient été adaptés pour leurs contextes culturels. La plupart des énoncés dans les questionnaires furent établis à l'aide d'une échelle de Likert en 7 points, allant de 1 « pas du tout

d'accord » à 7 « tout à fait d'accord ». Tous les items et échelles décrits dans cette section (1.5.2) sont identifiés par le numéro correspondant dans le questionnaire en français utilisé pour le sondage à l'UQAM.

L'échelle des *habiletés linguistiques* (Q 1.1) comporte six énoncés pour l'évaluation des habiletés linguistiques, verbales et de compréhension, des répondants, en français et en anglais. L'échelle d'*usage linguistique* (Q 4.1, 4.2) comporte huit énoncés permettant de préciser jusqu'à quel point les répondants utilisent le français et l'anglais à la maison, avec leurs amis, au travail et au collège/à l'université.

L'échelle d'*acculturation des communautés d'accueil* (ÉACA) (voir Q 2, Appendice D) sert à mesurer les six orientations d'acculturation de la communauté d'accueil envers les migrants CF et CA dans les domaines de la culture, des valeurs et des coutumes (Bourhis et al., 1997, 2008, 2009). Nous donnons l'exemple d'un item permettant de mesurer chacune des six orientations d'acculturation des communautés d'accueil dans le domaine de la culture. Intégrationnisme : « Les immigrants canadiens anglais peuvent conserver leur culture d'origine tout en adoptant la culture québécoise ». L'intégrationnisme de transformation : « Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leur propre culture pour mieux intégrer les immigrants canadiens anglais ». L'individualisme : « Que les immigrants canadiens anglais conservent leur culture ou adoptent celle des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir la culture qui lui convient ». L'assimilationnisme : « Les immigrants canadiens anglais devraient abandonner leur culture d'origine pour adopter la culture québécoise ». Le ségrégationnisme : « Les immigrants canadiens anglais peuvent conserver leur culture d'origine en autant qu'elle n'influence pas la culture des Québécois ». L'exclusionnisme : « Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des immigrants canadiens anglais et de leur culture ».

L'échelle d'acculturation des communautés immigrantes (ÉACI) a été adaptée pour le cas de la minorité historique anglophone du Québec dont les membres peuvent endosser cinq orientations d'acculturation à l'égard de la majorité francophone du Québec dans les domaines de la culture, des valeurs et des coutumes (Bourhis et al., 1997, 2008, 2009). La version française des items du domaine de la culture qui aident à mesurer ces cinq orientations d'acculturation (voir Q6, Appendice E) sont inclus dans ce paragraphe. L'intégrationnisme : « J'aimerais conserver ma culture d'origine ainsi qu'adopter certains aspects importants de la culture québécoise ».

L'individualisme : « Je me soucie peu de ma culture d'origine et de la culture québécoise car ce sont mes aspirations personnelles qui comptent le plus pour moi ».

L'assimilationnisme : « J'aimerais abandonner ma culture d'origine pour adopter la culture québécoise ». Le séparatisme : « J'aimerais conserver ma culture d'origine plutôt qu'adopter la culture québécoise ». La marginalisation : « Je n'aimerais ni conserver ma culture d'origine ni adopter la culture québécoise car je me sens inconfortable dans les deux communautés ».

Le profil d'identification multiple (Bourhis et Bougie, 1998) (Q 5.1) permet de mesurer le degré d'identification avec plusieurs groupes nationaux et linguistiques de ceux qui ont participé au sondage en tant que membres de l'un ou plusieurs de ces groupes y compris les suivants : Canadien, Québécois/Acadien/Franco-Ontarien, francophone, anglophone, bilingue. Les participants ont aussi évalué la *qualité de leur identité endogroupe* à l'aide de quatre items tels que: « Mon image des Québécois/Acadiens/Franco-Ontariens est positive », « Je suis heureux d'être Québécois/Acadien/Franco-Ontarien » (Bourhis et al., 2008).

L'échelle de sécurité identitaire (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004) (Q6) comprend trois énoncés permettant de déterminer à quel point chacun des participants se sent en sécurité du point de vue économique, culturel et linguistique en tant que Québécois

francophone ou anglophone, Acadien ou Franco-Ontarien. Un quatrième énoncé évalue à quel point l'identité sociale des répondants est menacée par la présence de divers exogroupes : migrants acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick, migrants Canadiens-anglais, et anglophones du Québec.

L'échelle concernant la *situation financière personnelle* (Harvey & Bourhis, 2012) (Q7) contient cinq énoncés portant sur la situation financière actuelle et future ainsi que les perspectives d'emploi dans la province d'origine (p. ex. « Je considère que ma situation financière est très prometteuse dans les années à venir au Québec; tout compte fait, je considère que j'ai de bonnes chances de faire une bonne carrière dans mon domaine de formation en demeurant au Québec »).

Les participants ont fait part de leur *volonté de quitter leur province* (Q8) en répondant aux trois questions suivantes : « Jusqu'à quel point seriez-vous prêt à déménager pour longtemps : 1) dans une province anglophone du Canada, 2) au Québec (participants Franco-Ontariens ou Acadiens) ou en Acadie (participants québécois) et 3) aux États-Unis? » (Stelzl & Esses, 2007). Ensuite, ils ont estimé l'importance de cinq facteurs (Q 9, 10) qui avaient été proposés comme raison d'émigrer y compris : pour trouver un meilleur emploi, pour rejoindre la famille, pour se marier ou se rapprocher d'un partenaire, pour l'aventure personnelle, pour s'éloigner des tensions linguistiques, pour éviter d'être jugé en tant que francophone.

Nous avons adapté l'échelle des *croyances à somme-nulle* (*Zero-Sum Belief Scale*; Esses et al., 1998) (Q11) pour la situation concernant l'arrivée de migrants interprovinciaux CA vs CF dans les provinces respectives des participants. L'échelle des *croyances à somme nulle* touchait la question de menace à la vitalité de la communauté francophone comme suit : « Plus les immigrants canadiens anglais parlent l'anglais, moins le français peut s'épanouir au Québec », « Plus il y a des opportunités d'affaires pour les immigrants canadiens anglais, moins il y en a pour les

Québécois francophones », « Plus l'immigration canadienne anglaise augmente, plus la communauté francophone est menacée au Québec ».

Les participants ont aussi exprimé leur *préférence vis-à-vis l'arrivée d'immigrants* (Q 12.3), c'est-à-dire, jusqu'à quel point l'origine des immigrants était importante pour eux. « Pour le futur du Québec, j'aimerais que les immigrants proviennent des endroits suivants » : de l'Ontario (Franco-Ontariens vs. anglophones), du Nouveau-Brunswick (acadiens francophones vs. anglophones), de la France, de l'Afrique francophone, des États-Unis, de l'Inde.

L'échelle du *réseau individuel de contacts ethnolinguistiques* (RICE; Landry & Bourhis, 1997) (Q 13) évalue la fréquence de contacts entre répondants et leur cercle d'amis, de collègues de travail, et d'étudiants appartenant à leur endogroupe et aux exogroupes suivants : anglophones du Québec, migrants acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick et migrants canadiens anglais. L'échelle d'*anxiété en situation de contact intergroupe* (Gao et Gudykunst, 1990) (Q 14) évalue jusqu'à quel point les répondants se sentent : insécures, méfiants, anxieux, confiants, attirés ou à l'aise parmi les groupes suivants : Québécois francophones, Acadiens, Québécois anglophones.

À l'aide du thermomètre d'attitudes ethniques (*Thermometer scale*; Esses, Haddock & Zanna, 1993) (Q 15), les répondants indiquent dans quelle mesure leurs attitudes sont favorables ou défavorable envers différents groupes établis dans leur province. Parmi les groupes cibles nous citons l'endogroupe et différents groupes de migrants internes (p. ex. les Canadiens anglais, les Québécois francophones, les Acadiens, les Franco-Ontariens) et internationaux (p. ex. les immigrants francophones d'Afrique, immigrants de France, les immigrants anglophones des États-Unis et de l'Inde). Cette échelle est en 100 points, exprimés en degrés : 0° équivaut à une attitude

extrêmement défavorable, 50° à une attitude neutre (ni favorable ni défavorable) et 100°, à une attitude extrêmement favorable.

L'échelle de la vitalité ethnolinguistique (Q 17) permet de saisir jusqu'à quel point les répondants pensent que l'endogroupe/les exogroupes établis dans leur province contribuent à la vitalité des communautés francophone et anglophone ainsi qu'à la vitalité des langues française et anglaise. L'échelle de *vitalité « égocentrique »* (Q 16), qui mesure la motivation pour soutenir la *vitalité endogroupe* (Landry & Bourhis, 1997), évalue dans quelle mesure les répondants sont prêts à agir personnellement pour s'assurer que leur endogroupe ainsi qu'un ou plusieurs exogroupes maintiennent ou accroissent leur vitalité ethnolinguistique. Elle comprend six énoncés qui ont trait à la vitalité démographique : « Je veux agir pour augmenter la taille des communautés linguistiques suivantes dans ma région »; au contrôle institutionnel : « Je veux encourager la création d'entreprises et de commerces parmi les groupes suivants dans ma région »; et au statut : « Je veux agir afin d'augmenter le prestige et l'importance des communautés suivantes dans ma région ».

Les participants ont également exprimé leur sentiment d'avoir été *personnellement victimes de discrimination* (Q18) au cours des cinq dernières années dans leur milieu de travail, dans un magasin, une banque ou un restaurant ainsi qu'à l'école et/ou au collège/à l'université (Bourhis et al., 2007). Ils ont ensuite indiqué la ou les raisons pour laquelle (lesquelles) ils pensent avoir été victimes de discrimination en choisissant un ou plusieurs des facteurs suivants : race, ethnicité, religion, caractéristique physique, langue ou accent (Q19). Les participants ont ensuite fait part de leur perception que l'endogroupe/les exogroupes sont victimes de *discrimination collective* au travail, dans les magasins/banques/restaurants et en milieu scolaire (Taylor, Wright, et Ruggiero, 1991) (Q20).

Les trois chapitres suivants offrent les résultats des trois études sous forme de manuscrit soumis aux revues scientifiques pertinents aux thèmes de notre recherche.

CHAPITRE II

VITALITY AND ETHNOLINGUISTIC ATTITUDES OF ACADIANS, FRANCO- ONTARIANS AND QUEBECOIS FRANCOPHONES: TWO OR THREE SOLITUDES IN CANADA'S BILINGUAL BELT?

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Abstract

Do French-Canadian (FC) minorities in New Brunswick and Ontario remain as committed as majority Quebecois Francophones in developing their vitality within Canada's bilingual belt? FCs constitute host communities for interprovincial migrants of FC and English-Canadian (EC) background who can bolster or weaken the vitality of FCs. Questionnaires were completed by three groups of FC undergraduates: Quebecois Francophones (n=204), Acadians (n=227), and Franco-Ontarians (n=227). All FC respondents identified positively as Francophones while declaring strong language skills in French and reported using more French than English in their everyday lives. FC respondents were more willing to personally mobilise to improve their French-Canadian vitality than outgroup EC vitality. FC participants felt more threatened by the presence of EC than FC migrants, preferred Francophone more than Anglophone migrants, and perceived that FC migrants contributed more to their ingroup vitality than did EC migrants. Implications are discussed based on the 'two solitudes' and 'three solitudes' hypotheses and the relationship between intergroup threat, zero-sum beliefs and the rejection by FCs of EC migrants.

Keywords: ethnolinguistic vitality, language minorities, two-solitudes, intergroup threat, zero-sum beliefs

2.1 Introduction

In 1969, the Canadian federal parliament adopted the Official Languages Act making English and French co-official languages across Canada while providing bilingual federal services for French and English Canadians where numbers warranted (Fortier, 1994). In 1971, the federal government adopted the Canadian Multiculturalism Act within the Canadian French-English bilingual framework and in 1982 adopted the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* which enshrined English and French as the two official languages of Canada. In 2003, the Federal government launched the roadmap for Canada's official languages by investing \$900 million for 2003-2008, then renewing the funding with \$1.1 billion for 2008-2013 and \$1.3 billion for 2013-2018 to promote linguistic duality and enhance the vitality of official-language minority communities (Canadian Heritage, 2013).

Despite Canada's considerable support for bilingualism and its French and English minority communities, the Commissioner of Official Languages noted that there is still much work to be done to make the official bilingualism policy work in Canada (Fraser, 2006). Some critics in English-Canada question the cost and necessity of official bilingualism supporting French minorities, while others challenge its relevance considering the multilingual reality of non-official language communities across Canada (Ricento, 2013). For their part, Quebec Francophone nationalists reject official bilingualism, deeming it 'too little too late' and strive instead for a sovereign Quebec that is unilingual French (Corbeil, 2007). Federal support for French and English minorities across Canada was designed to ensure the equal development of these official language minorities in an effort to preserve Canadian unity threatened by Quebecois French separatism. A recent public opinion survey conducted across Canada for the Association of Canadian Studies showed that 63% of Francophones agreed that the Federal bilingualism policy kept the country united compared to 31%

of Anglophones. It is in Quebec that this positive view of Federal bilingualism was more widely endorsed relative to the other Canadian provinces (*The Montreal Gazette*, March 8, 2008).

It is in Canada's bilingual belt, comprised of the provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario, where one finds the most French-English bilinguals in the country. According to the 2011 Canadian census, the proportion of Canadians who have knowledge of both official languages is 42.6% in Quebec, 33.2% in New Brunswick and 11.0% in Ontario. In New Brunswick and Ontario, French Canadians (FCs) are virtually all French/English bilinguals and remain double linguistic minorities at both the provincial and Canadian levels. In Quebec, FCs have a dual status: they constitute the dominant language majority within the province but remain a linguistic minority nationally in Canada. English Canadians (ECs) in Quebec also have a dual status as they constitute a linguistic minority provincially while remaining part of the dominant linguistic majority across Canada. In Quebec, while 36% of majority French Canadians (80%) are bilingual, as many as 70% of minority English Canadians (8%) are bilinguals.

It is noteworthy that French and English Canadians across the bilingual belt constitute host communities not only for international immigrants but also for FC and EC interprovincial migrants from other Canadian provinces. Interprovincial migration has been shown to have a significant economic, social and demolinguistic impact on Francophone communities in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario (Coulombe, 2006). How FCs and ECs welcome each other as internal migrants has important consequences for Canadian nation-building, social cohesion and harmonious relations between Francophones and Anglophones as official language communities. Also, just as host-immigrant community relations are related to how international immigrants integrate their host society, they may also be relevant in how internal migrants integrate their new provincial setting (Bourhis, 2001a). In Canada, the two official-

language minorities increasingly rely on attracting newcomers to help sustain the vitality of their respective communities (Gallant, 2007).

The goal of the current study is to evaluate the attitudes of Francophone Quebecers, New Brunswick Acadians and Franco-Ontarians toward EC and FC interprovincial migrants. More specifically, the study explores how minority and majority Francophone groups differ in their perception of EC and FC internal migrants as posing a threat or contributing to their respective own-group vitality; and whether vitality concerns are relevant in explaining Francophone attitudes toward EC and FC migrants. The following section provides a brief account of French/English group relations in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario.

2.2 Historical and sociolinguistic context: Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario

Based on the Canadian census Francophones in Quebec number 6,164,745 (78.9%), an increase in absolute numbers from 4,860,410 (80.7%) in 1971 (Statistics Canada 2011). Those of immigrant background whose first language is neither French nor English, known as allophones, increased their share of the Quebec population, from 6.3% (379,437) in 1971 to 12.8% (1,003,545) in 2011. During the same period, the Anglophone population dropped from 13% (788,830) to 8.3% (647,655) (Statistics Canada 2011).

The defeat of the French army on the Plains of Abraham in Quebec by British forces in 1763 known as *la Conquête* (the conquest) is still invoked by Francophone Quebecers as marking the end of French rule and the ensuing ascendancy of the English speakers in what became known as the Dominion of Canada. Up to the 1960s, Francophone Quebecers were an economically and socially disadvantaged

majority who nevertheless succeeded in controlling their French municipal and provincial public institutions. As Francophone Quebecers became increasingly educated, secular, and wealthy following the modernisation effects of the 'Quiet Revolution', the French language emerged as the principal symbol of Quebecois identity. Quebecois nationalists highlighted the threatened position of the French language in a province increasingly integrated economically and politically within Anglo-Canada. The first separatist government adopted, in 1977, the *Charter of the French language* (Bill 101), designed to increase the status of French relative to English in provincial institutions and in the work world (Corbeil, 2007). Francophone Quebecers succeeded in fully controlling the provincial public administration, state institutions such as education, health care, the judiciary, and most of the economic, political, and cultural institutions of the province (Bourhis, 2001b). Despite this ascendancy, however, Quebec nationalists nurtured a feeling of linguistic threat to French by highlighting the minority position of the French language and its speakers in Canada (22%) and North America (2%).

Ideologically, to legitimise Quebec sovereignty, Quebecois separatists dismissed one million French Canadians living in communities across the rest of Canada (ROC) as minorities bound to assimilate linguistically to the English-Canadian majority in the ROC, thereby eliminating their burden of responsibility and solidarity toward them (Harvey, 1995). Quebecois nationalists asserted the Canada-Quebec divide as permanent and edified Quebec as the last bastion of the French-Canadian nation, actions which marginalized Acadian and Franco-Ontarian minorities in the ROC (Thériault, 1999).

When it comes to the presence of diverse groups within Quebec, attitude studies have revealed that Francophone Quebecers endorsed less favourable attitudes toward immigrants who are visible minorities and/or whose linguistic background is English rather than French (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). Francophone Quebecers also hold

ambivalent attitudes toward the Quebec Anglophone minority (Bourhis, Barrette, & Moriconi, 2008). It should be pointed out that many feel linguistically threatened as they tend to focus on the power of attraction of English relative to French, while ignoring the gradual decline of Quebec's Anglophone minority (Bourhis 2012).

With a population of 240,455 French mother tongue speakers, Acadians represent 32.5% of the New Brunswick population, down from 33.8% (214,720) in 1971 (Statistics Canada, 2011). What is more, the demographic vitality of francophone communities within New Brunswick is bolstered by the fact that 80 % of Acadians reside in regions of the province where they are linguistic majorities (Lepage, Bouchard-Coulombe, & Chavez 2011).

Acadians are descendants of Francophone inhabitants who suffered "*Le Grand Dérangement*": From 1755 to 1762, the majority of Acadians were deported by the British army for failing to swear allegiance to the British Crown, an incident still highly significant for many Acadians today (Laxer, 2007). Following the adoption of anti-French/anti-Catholic laws up to the early 20th century, Acadians created numerous associations to defend the vitality of their French cultural communities. It was not until the 1960s, when the first Acadian was elected Premier of New Brunswick, that the Acadian minority gained institutional support in education, health and social services. The Université de Moncton and a French-language hospital were built in 1963, and the New Brunswick legislature adopted the 1969 *Official Languages Act* which gave equal status to English and French, and equal rights and privileges to English and French speakers in most domains under provincial authority. In 1981, the New Brunswick government adopted *Bill 88*, an Act Recognizing the Equality of the Two Official Linguistic Communities in New Brunswick, which was later incorporated into the *Canadian Charter*. These laws enshrined the French primary and secondary school system for Acadians across the province, thus giving them full institutional control of basic education.

Though there was linguistic and cultural convergence between Quebecois and Acadians for many decades, Acadians sought to distinguish themselves in response to the intensification of Quebecois nationalism, which led Quebec to deny its historic ties to Francophones from the ROC (Thériault & Meunier, 2008). By the 1980s, Acadians denounced the cultural and linguistic dominance imposed by Francophone Quebecers and mobilised to develop their own institutional vitality as Acadians in New Brunswick (Thériault, 1999).

Franco-Ontarians numbered 482,350 people in 1971, representing 6.3% of the Ontarian population, dropping to 4.4% (561,160) in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2011). While only 14 % of Franco-Ontarians live in a region of Ontario where they comprise the majority, most live in areas where they account for less than 30 % of the regional population (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010). Franco-Ontarians were concentrated in northern regions of the province, but with the decline of the forestry and mining industries, many moved to southern Ontario, where they constitute smaller isolated regional minorities (Gilbert, 2010).

The Franco-Ontarian community grew thanks to several waves of FC migrants, mostly from Quebec. Franco-Ontarians long struggled to defend their institutional vitality as exemplified by the fight against *Regulation 17*, adopted by the Ontario Government in 1912, which banned the teaching of French in all public schools (Bock & Gervais, 2004). Though Regulation 17 was repealed in 1927, French-language schools in Ontario were not officially recognized under the provincial *Education Act* until 1968. Ontario accepted Section 23 of the *Canadian Charter*, which stipulated that official language minorities have the right to have their children educated in English or French anywhere in Canada if their parents or grandparents were educated in that language or if they learned it as a first language.

In 1986, the Ontario legislature adopted *Bill 8*, which guarantees a number of provincial government services in French in designated areas of the province and recognizes the right to use both English and French in the Ontario legislature. Franco-Ontarians benefit from a French primary and secondary school system in most regions of the province where Franco-Ontarian communities live. After a long struggle, Franco-Ontarians achieved full governance over their education institutions at primary and secondary levels in 1997 and created twelve French-language school boards (Bock & Gervais, 2004). One French unilingual college and two French/English bilingual universities in Ottawa and Sudbury also contribute to institutional vitality. However, the drawing power of English in Ontario and the frequency of French/English mixed marriages are seen as contributing to the diminishing proportion of Franco-Ontarians in the province (Mougeon & Beniak, 1994).

Overall, the proportion of Francophones in the ROC dropped from 6% (930,000) of Canada's population in 1971 to 5% in 1991 (969,000), and 4% (1,007,815) in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2011). Francophone minorities in the ROC face difficulties in maintaining their demographic presence due to at least three factors (Mougeon, 2014): 1) international immigrants prefer to integrate in the English rather than in the French host communities; 2) the decrease in the birth rate of Francophones from the 1970s to the present; 3) the weak intergenerational transmission of the French language, especially as a result of French-English mixed marriages where English becomes the home language. For Francophone minorities in the ROC, bilingual identity is becoming more salient especially among Francophone youth, whereby a more Franco-dominant or Anglo-dominant dual identity emerges depending on the vitality of the regional Francophone community (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2010).

2.2.1 Theoretical framework

The Canadian government publishes reports and studies which attest to the importance of the ethnolinguistic vitality framework for describing and analyzing the prospects of Francophone and Anglophone minority communities in Canada (Commissioner of Official Languages, 2015; Johnson & Doucet, 2006). This framework has been institutionalized by the federal government in the *Official Languages Act* which states in its preamble: "...Whereas the Government of Canada is committed to enhancing the vitality and supporting the development of English and French linguistic minority communities..." Also, the concept of vitality is now an integral part of the vocabulary of many observers and players in the political academic and community spheres (Corbeil, Grenier, & Lafrenière, 2007).

The vitality of a language community is defined as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup settings" (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977, 308). The term 'ethnolinguistic vitality' relates to the strength of language communities within multilingual settings as determined by three broad dimensions of sociostructural variables: demography, institutional support and status.

Demographic variables are related to the absolute number of members composing the language group and their distribution throughout the regional or national territory. They also include birth rate, age pyramid, exogamy, immigration and emigration. Taken together, such demographic variables offer the 'strength in numbers' that can be used as a legitimizing tool for granting linguistic minorities the institutional support needed to maintain and transmit their language across the generations as developing linguistic communities.

Institutional support, which is vital to a community for maintaining language and culture in multilingual settings, is defined as the degree of control a linguistic community commands over state and private institutions. Language minorities and their leaders struggle to secure the institutional support they need to control and use their language within formal institutions, such as education, and health care. In turn, institutional support promotes the use and transmission of the minority language, thus contributing to demographic vitality (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977).

Language communities that have maintained their demolinguistic strength and achieved institutional support gains are also likely to benefit from social status, including language laws that recognize the minority language as an official language of the region or state (Bourhis, 2001a). Variables related to this prestige dimension of vitality include sociohistorical status within the state, current status as a culturally and economically vibrant community, and the prestige of its language and culture locally, nationally and worldwide. The vitality framework has been used to compare and contrast the strength and weaknesses of linguistic minorities and majorities, and to ascertain their 'relative wellness' using key demographic and institutional support dimensions in settings such as Canada and Europe (Bourhis & Landry, 2012).

How speakers perceive subjectively the vitality of their own language community may be as important as their objective vitality (Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981). Overall, studies using the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire have shown that perceptions of ingroup and outgroup vitality or, *exocentric beliefs*, were in line with objective assessments of group vitality though systematic motivational biases in vitality perceptions have been identified in reviews of existing research (Abrams, Barker, & Giles, 2009; Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994).

Egocentric beliefs are made up of goal beliefs concerning motivations to improve ingroup/outgroup vitality and can be assessed using the 'beliefs about ethnolinguistic

vitality questionnaire' (BEVQ; Allard & Landry, 1986). Minority group members may perceive that their own group vitality is weak (exo-beliefs) relative to a high vitality language majority but may nevertheless endorse goal beliefs (ego-beliefs) in favour of mobilising personally to improve their own group vitality through collective actions to enhance institutional support for their language. Vitality studies have shown that ego-beliefs tend to be better predictors of language attitudes and language behaviours than general exo-beliefs (Allard & Landry, 1994).

Usually, linguistic communities are more likely to mobilise to enhance the vitality of their own group than to act in favour of outgroup vitality. We expect that FCs in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario may accept or reject FC/EC interprovincial migrants depending on how such migrants are seen to contribute to their own group vitality.

According to the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (IMGC), perception of group competition for limited resources is related to negative attitudes toward immigrants (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998). People who adhere to 'zero-sum' beliefs perceive that migrants and linguistic minorities are competing with them for scarce resources that are objective (e.g. jobs, language services) and/or symbolic (e.g. values, religion). A study conducted among English-speaking citizens of Australia and Canada showed that zero-sum beliefs were linked to perceptions of international immigrants as cheaters and to negative emotions toward them (Louis, Esses, & Lalonde, 2013). In this study, we expect that strong adherence to zero-sum beliefs will be associated with Francophone respondent rejection of ECs as migrants perceived to undermine their Francophone community vitality.

2.2.2 Research objectives and expectations

The goal of the present study is to survey FCs in the three French-English ‘bilingual belt’ provinces with regard to: 1) preferences for FC rather than EC migrants from Canada; 2) the strategic perception that FC migrants contribute more to their Francophone vitality than EC migrants.

Given the double minority status of Franco-Ontarians and New Brunswick Acadians, and the dual status of Francophone Quebecers, we formulate three competing hypotheses. First, the *two solitudes hypothesis* posits that, in the three settings, Francophone host community members will prefer Canadian migrants from out of province who are FC more than those who are EC. FC migrants are seen as more valued than EC migrants given past and present rivalries between Francophones and Anglophones in each of the three provinces. FC migrants are also more likely to be perceived as contributing to French vitality than migrants who are EC.

The *three solitudes hypothesis* is based on historical divergence that exists not only between rival FC and EC communities but also between FC communities of Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario which developed their distinctive cultural identities in the last few decades. We predict that FCs from each province will prefer their French provincial ingroup as the most culturally authentic contributors to their ingroup vitality relative to FC migrants from the other two provinces of the bilingual belt.

Our third competing hypothesis is based on the *common ingroup identity* model (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kafati, 2000) which proposes that shared category membership is a key factor in reducing prejudice and promoting intergroup acceptance. Recategorization can be achieved by drawing attention to one or several common superordinate – more inclusive – group memberships. In this study, Francophone

Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians may perceive that they share a common linguistic/cultural identity with all French Canadians as well as a common superordinate national identity as Canadians including both FCs and ECs. Hypothesis three posits that the three groups of FCs will prefer to receive EC interprovincial migrants as much as FC migrants and perceive them to be equal contributors to their respective ingroup vitality.

2.3 Methodology

2.3.1 Participants and procedure

The study focused on undergraduates between 18 and 35 years of age who met the following criteria: they had French as their mother tongue and both their parents were born in Canada and knew French. The Quebecois, Acadian and Franco-Ontarian participants were born and lived in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario, respectively. The final sample was made up of 658 participants: 204 Francophone Quebecers, 227 Acadians from New Brunswick and 227 Franco-Ontarians. There were 443 females and 214 males with an average overall age 21.9 years.

Participants were recruited from the social sciences and education faculties at the Université du Québec à Montréal in Quebec, the Université de Moncton in New Brunswick and the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University in Ontario. They received a folder containing two questionnaires written in French and were instructed to select the single questionnaire that best corresponded to their personal situation. One questionnaire was pertinent for undergraduates who self-categorized as belonging to the Francophone host community in their respective province, while the other was pertinent to those who self-categorized as first- or second-generation

immigrants settled in the province. Only those who completed the Francophone host community questionnaire were included in the final sample as per the criteria described above. Undergraduates completed the questionnaire during class time, returned both questionnaires in the folder, and were fully debriefed in class.

2.3.2 Measures

All questions were answered in French on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = totally disagree; 7 = totally agree) unless otherwise specified. The following scales were used to compare and contrast Francophone undergraduates recruited in New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, as well as to test key hypotheses proposed in the study.

The *Multiple Identification* scale (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004) with national and linguistic groups was measured for each of the following items: “To what extent do you identify as: Canadian, Quebecois or Acadian or Franco-Ontarian, Francophone/Anglophone/bilingual, immigrant”. The related *Quality of Ingroup Identification* scale included four items such as: “I am happy to be Quebecois” and “It’s a good thing to be Quebecois” (Cronbach’s alpha = .86 to .96 across the three groups of respondents).

The *Linguistic Skills* scale consisted of four items that assessed the extent to which respondents understand/speak French and English, its C. alpha ranging from .62 to .80 for French and .84 to .88 for English across the three respondent groups. The *Language Use* scale was comprised of eight items that measured the extent to which participants used French and English at home, with their friends, at work and at college/university (all participant groups considered, C. alpha = .58 – .80 for French; .70 – .80 for English).

The *Individual Network of Ethnolinguistic Contacts* (INEC; Landry & Bourhis, 1997) measured the respondent frequency of contact with Francophone and Anglophone friends, colleagues and classmates who are members of four target groups (the ingroup and three outgroups). The outgroups consisted of English Canadians and two others among the following, depending on the host community at hand: Francophone Quebecers, Acadians, Franco-Ontarians and Quebec Anglophones. The C. alpha of the INEC scale obtained with the three groups of respondents ranged from .56 to .72.

The *Ego-Vitality* scale (short BEVQ scale; Allard & Landry, 1986) measured to what extent Francophone respondents are ready to mobilise personally in order to improve the vitality of their own language community. This scale included seven items pertaining to demographic strength (2), institutional control (3) and status (2) regarding two target groups: the ingroup (Francophone Quebecers, Acadians, or Franco-Ontarians) and an outgroup: Quebecois Anglophones in the Quebec context and English Canadians in the Acadian and Ontarian contexts. (C. alpha = .87 – .92 for ingroup; .86 – .92 for outgroup).

The *Immigration Preference* scale asked participants to express to what extent they would like migrants to come from various regions, within and outside Canada. Depending on the provincial setting, respondents rated how much they wanted migrants whose regions of origin were the following: French-Canadian migrants from Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick, Francophone immigrants from France and Africa, English-Canadian migrants from Ontario and New Brunswick, Anglophone immigrants from the USA.

The *Contribution to Vitality* scale assessed the extent to which participants felt that their ingroup and FC vs. EC migrants established in their own province contribute to the vitality of their own Francophone community, that of the Anglophone community

and to the vitality of the French and English language in their own province. All target groups combined, the C. alpha of this scale ranged from .82 – .88 among Francophone Quebecers, .74 – .83 among Acadians and .84 – .92 among Franco-Ontarians.

The *Security* scale measured feelings of economic, cultural and linguistic security as a Quebecois, Acadian or Franco-Ontarian respectively in each province (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004). An item measured the feeling that respondents' identity – as Quebecois, Acadian or Franco-Ontarian – was threatened by the presence of the ingroup and three outgroups which, included EC migrants and, depending on the host community at hand, two FC migrants among the following: Francophone Quebecers, Acadians, Franco-Ontarians and Quebecois Anglophones (C. alpha for outgroup items = .62 – .76).

The *Zero-Sum Belief Scale* measured the degree to which respondents felt that Francophone and Anglophone communities compete for scarce resources and that Francophones felt that their community vitality is undermined by the presence of rival EC migrants (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998). This scale is composed of nine items including positively and negatively coded statements such as “The more English-Canadian immigrants there are, the more the Francophone community is threatened in Quebec.” and “It is possible for Quebecois culture to thrive here in the presence of English-Canadian culture.” The C. alpha of this scale was .82 among Francophone Quebecers, .86 for Acadians and .77 for Franco-Ontarians.

The *Intercultural Anxiety* scale measured to what extent respondents felt insecure, wary, anxious, confident, attracted and at ease (positive items were reverse-scored) when in contact with outgroup members (Gao & Gudykunst, 1990). For each cultural context, there were three target groups: Francophone Quebecers/Acadians/Anglophone Quebecers (C. alpha = .80 – .86) in Quebec;

Francophone Quebecers/English Canadians/Franco-Ontarians (C. alpha = .74 – .89) in New Brunswick; Franco-Ontarians/Francophone Quebecers/English Canadians (C. alpha = .72 – .83) in Ontario.

2.4 Results

One-Way or Repeated Measures (RM) ANOVAs were conducted to compare FC responses in the three provinces on the various measures. Unless otherwise stated, all differences described below are statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

2.4.1 Social-psychological profile of the three FC groups

As shown in Table 2.1, the three Francophone groups identified strongly and positively with their respective provincial ingroup; they also strongly identified as Francophones, while reporting very strong French language skills. However, unlike the Franco-Ontarians and Acadians who identified as much as Canadians as with their regional provincial ingroup, Francophone Quebecers identified more strongly as Quebecois than as Canadians. Franco-Ontarians had stronger Anglophone identity and weaker Francophone identity than Acadians and Francophone Quebecers. Franco-Ontarians also identified the most as bilingual, and reported the strongest English language skills/use, followed by Acadians and Francophone Quebecers. Conversely, French language use was most frequent among Francophone Quebecers, and least frequent among Franco-Ontarians. When it came to their individual network of ethnolinguistic contacts, FCs from each setting reported more contacts with ingroup Francophones than with ECs. Quebecois and Acadians reported more contact

with Francophone ingroup speakers than did the Franco-Ontarians. Conversely, contact with ECs was most frequent among Franco-Ontarians, followed by Acadians and Francophone Quebecers.

2.4.2 Ego-vitality

All FC participants expressed a stronger will to mobilise in favour of their own group vitality than for the EC outgroup (see also Table 2.1). Acadians were more willing to mobilise for improving their own group vitality on the institutional support and status fronts than were Franco-Ontarians and Francophone Quebecers. Compared to Acadian and Francophone Quebecers, Franco-Ontarians were least polarized in their willingness to act in favour of their FC ingroup vs. EC outgroup vitality (difference scores = 2.77/2.42/1.64, respectively).

2.4.3 Immigration preferences

As can be seen in Table 2.2, FC respondents from each setting expressed a stronger preference for FC than EC migrants to their own province. Moreover, they preferred Francophone immigrants coming from France or Africa as much as Francophone migrants coming from within Canada. Therefore, French-speaking migrants – whether internal or international – were preferred over founding group Anglophone migrants of Canadian ancestry. Only Francophone Quebecers preferred English-speaking migrants from Canada more than immigrants from the USA.

2.4.4 Linguistic security, threat and vitality contributions of FC and EC migrants

As shown in Table 2.2, feelings of linguistic security about the current state of the French language were consistently lower relative to economic and cultural security for both Francophone Quebecers and Acadians. For Franco-Ontarians, linguistic and cultural security was not significantly different. Notably, majority Francophone Quebecers felt less linguistically secure than did Franco-Ontarians and no more secure linguistically than did Acadians. Quebecois Francophone respondents also felt less secure culturally than did Franco-Ontarians and Acadians.

FC respondents from each province expressed a greater feeling of threat in the presence of EC than in the presence of FC migrants. Acadians felt most threatened by the presence of EC migrants, followed by Franco-Ontarians and Francophone Quebecers. Compared to Acadians, Franco-Ontarians claimed to feel less intercultural anxiety when in contact with ECs, but more anxiety when in contact with Francophone Quebecers. Acadians adhered slightly more to zero-sum beliefs than did their Quebecois and Franco-Ontarian counterparts.

As seen in Figure 2.1 (a) - (c), local ingroup FCs were seen to contribute most to Francophone vitality and EC migrants the least, this being the case in each province. Finally, FC respondents in each setting rated FC migrants as contributing less to their respective Francophone vitality than their own local provincial ingroup. Franco-Ontarians were least polarized in their perception that FC vs. EC outgroups contributed to their French vitality (difference scores = 3.83/3.96/2.71, respectively).

2.4.5 Mediation analyses

Given that feeling of threat is a strong predictor of intergroup attitudes (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), we combined the three respondent groups ($n=658$) and tested the correlation between feeling of threat from ECs and preference for EC migrants. Significant correlations indicated in Figure 2.2 show that the more FCs felt threatened by the presence of ECs, the less they wanted them as migrants to their own province ($r = -.37$). Also, the more threatened FCs felt, the more they perceived relations between Francophones and Anglophones as zero-sum ($r = +.46$). Moreover, the more respondents saw French-English relations as zero-sum, the less they wanted ECs as migrants ($r = -.39$). In contrast, the more ECs were seen to contribute to French vitality, the more FC respondents wanted ECs as migrants ($r = +.33$). Mediation Sobel tests revealed that zero-sum beliefs partially mediated the relationship between feeling of threat in the presence of ECs migrants and rejection of EC migrants. The perception that EC migrants could contribute to French vitality in one's province was also a partial mediator of the relationship between the feeling of threat from EC migrants and the rejection of EC migrants.

2.5 Discussion

The social-psychological profile of the three French-Canadian undergraduate groups emerged quite clearly, thus validating their inclusion as 'bilingual belt' Francophones in our study. Francophone Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians were quite similar in identifying strongly and positively as Francophones and as members of their respective provincial FC ingroups. They each declared very strong language skills in French and reported using more French than English in their everyday lives.

Their INEC was greater with FCs than ECs. Francophone Quebecers, Acadians, and Franco-Ontarians felt less secure linguistically than economically. Each group was more willing to personally mobilise to improve their own provincial Francophone vitality than to mobilise for Anglophone vitality.

Did the majority vs. minority status of the three Francophone groups affect their respective social-psychological profile? A remarkable finding is that, though Francophone Quebecers constitute the dominant high-vitality majority community in their province, their intergroup perceptions were similar to those of lower-vitality Acadians and Franco-Ontarians. Though Francophone Quebecers felt least threatened by ECs, they felt less culturally secure than the other two groups, less linguistically secure than Franco-Ontarians and as linguistically insecure as Acadians. Francophone Quebecers also felt as much intercultural anxiety in the presence of ECs as did minority Acadians and Franco-Ontarians. Thus, the profile of Francophone Quebecers could be portrayed as that of an objectively dominant high-vitality majority still imbued with the psychology of an insecure linguistic minority. Controlling the full power of their provincial public and private institutions, the Quebec Francophone majority has used its ascendancy to adopt language laws which systematically reduced the institutional vitality of the Quebec Anglophone minority (Bourhis, 2012; Oakes & Warren, 2007).

Acadian respondents had a social-psychological profile coherent with their position as a double-status minority within New Brunswick and Canada. Acadians felt less secure economically and more threatened by the presence of EC migrants than Francophone Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians. Acadians were also more likely to endorse zero-sum beliefs about French-English relations than were Francophone Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians. Finally, Acadians felt more intercultural anxiety in the presence of ECs than did Franco-Ontarians. As members of the demographically smallest Francophone community in our study, the attitudes of our Acadian

respondents can be seen as that of a classic threatened linguistic minority whose relations with the regional majority remain somewhat problematic.

Though Franco-Ontarian respondents shared much in common with the profile of the Acadian and Francophone Quebecer undergraduates, they did stand out as the most bilingual/bicultural respondents in our study. When compared to the Acadians and Francophone Quebecers, Franco-Ontarians identified more strongly as bilinguals and as Anglophones while their English language skills and use of English in everyday life was more sustained. Only Franco-Ontarians reported their skills in English to be as strong as their skills in French. Moreover, Franco-Ontarians had a stronger network of ethnolinguistic contacts with Anglophones relative to Acadians and Francophone Quebecers. Franco-Ontarians felt more secure linguistically and economically than the other two groups and felt less intercultural anxiety when relating with English Canadians than the Acadians. Some analysts might consider Franco-Ontarian undergraduates as having developed a hybrid French/English bilingual identity, which, through subtractive bilingualism, will foster eventual linguistic *assimilation* to the Anglo-Ontarian majority (Landry, Deveau, & Allard, 2006). In contrast, others may argue that Franco-Ontarian undergraduates embody the secure, open, additive bilingual/bicultural *integrative* identity espoused by the federal bilingualism policy of rapprochement between Francophone and Anglophone communities across Canada. It is only recently that empirical studies have begun to explore the consequences of Francophone and Anglophone minority group bilingualism most notably on identity, subjective vitality and language use (Freynet & Clément, 2015).

Across the three provinces, much support was found for the *two solitudes* hypothesis reflecting the historical rivalries between French and English Canadians as founding people in Canada. Francophone Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians by far preferred internal FC migrants as well as Francophone immigrants from France and

Africa more than co-national EC migrants. Relative to EC migrants, FC migrants were perceived to contribute much more to the vitality of FCs in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario. What is more, there was a significant correlation between the perceived contribution of FC migrants to Francophone vitality and the preference for such migrant groups ($r = +.36$ to $+.40$, $p < .01$). FC undergraduates from each province also felt less threatened in the presence of FC migrants than EC migrants. Conversely, Acadians and Francophone Quebecers felt more anxiety when in contact with ECs than with FCs. Respondents who felt threatened by the presence of EC interprovincial migrants were less likely to see them as contributors to their ingroup vitality while endorsing more polarized zero-sum beliefs toward them. That FCs in the three settings preferred FC migrants and Francophone international immigrants over co-national EC migrants attests to the concerns that FCs had in bolstering their FC vitality relative to that of the EC outgroup vitality. No previous empirical study has shown how migrants can be so clearly perceived as contributing or not to the vitality of majority and minority regional communities. These findings have theoretical implications for the ethnolinguistic vitality framework as they show that linguistic communities can be quite strategic in their assessment of demolinguistic and institutional support measures that are most likely to contribute to the strengthening or weakening of their own group vitality while also being aware of measures most likely to support or undermine the vitality of rival outgroup language communities.

The two solitudes hypothesis was also supported by our mediation analyses. FC endorsement of zero-sum beliefs and their perception of EC's contribution to ingroup vitality partially mediated the relationship between feeling of threat from the presence of ECs and rejection of EC migrants. Could the 'us-them' polarization of French-English perceptions be a side effect of Canada's Official Bilingualism policy supporting the community vitality of its language minorities? We recall that the federal policy of Official bilingualism had the fundamental goal of fostering the co-existence of Canada's linguistic communities, not in the spirit of intercultural

competition but of mutual understanding and support. However, enduring Quebecois Francophone nationalist sentiments and Acadian historical loyalties are more likely to account for the relationship between feelings of threat, endorsement of zero-sum beliefs and rejection of EC migrants than potentially negative effects of Canada's federal official-language laws.

There was some support for the *three solitudes* hypothesis proposing that Francophone Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians developed distinctive provincial identities playing down features of their shared identity as Francophone minorities across Canada. While FCs in the three provincial settings shared the perception that EC migrants contribute least to their ingroup French vitality, the three FC groups were consistent in perceiving their respective provincial ingroup as contributing more to their ingroup vitality than out of province FC migrants, who are probably seen as identifying less with local francophone culture. Taken together, these patterns are in line with classic Social Identity Theory processes accounting for how groups tend to socially differentiate themselves from salient outgroups as they seek to achieve and maintain their positive social identity (Giles et al., 1977). Our results can thus be seen as reflecting the historical divergence over the last few decades of the Francophone Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians leading to distinctive sociocultural French communities. Contemporary Quebec nationalism considered FCs in the ROC as a lost cause, which in turn led Acadian and Franco-Ontarian communities to slowly distance themselves from Francophone Quebecers. Future studies could investigate Francophone Quebecers' feelings of distinctiveness and ambivalence toward minority Francophone communities in the ROC (Mougeon, 1998). Despite symbolic solidarity ties announced in some Quebec political party platforms (Denault 2008), Quebecois government policies have sometimes sided with English-majority provinces in repressing Francophone minority rights for the sake of not granting equivalent rights to the Anglophone minority in Quebec (Behiels, 2004).

Marginal support for the common ingroup identity hypothesis was observed with Francophone respondents in New Brunswick and Ontario who identified more as Canadians than as Acadians and Franco-Ontarians, respectively. However, results obtained with Francophone Quebecers were distinctive in providing little support for the *common ingroup identity* hypothesis as they identified much more as Quebecois than as Canadians. Results also showed that ingroup favouritism was less pronounced among Franco-Ontarians than was the case for Acadians and Francophone Quebecers. Note that up to the 1990s, Franco-Ontarians had difficulty including out-of-province Francophones as 'authentic' contributors to their ancestral community. Realizing that language shift to English was not abating, community leaders encouraged the inclusion of interprovincial and international Francophone migrants. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Ontario government-funded *Office of Francophone Affairs* recently promoted using a broader definition of Ontario Francophones to include those of diversified backgrounds. With such Francophones contributing to an increase in the size of the Franco-Ontarian minority, both the Federal and Ontario Governments are better able to justify improvements to the institutional support provided to this linguistic minority. More inclusive attitudes toward interprovincial and international Francophone migrants obtained with our Ontario University respondents attest to this growing trend among Franco-Ontarians.

Future research on the representations of history within Canada's bilingual belt is proposed given that collective memories can not only be linked to shared collective identity, cohesiveness and solidarity (Liu & Hilton, 2005), but can also shape current perceptions of one's ingroup vitality prospects relative to rival outgroups, past and present (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). Collective memories of victimhood are shared perceptions that the ingroup suffered intentional harm with lasting consequences from the undeserved harmful actions of rival outgroups. Studies have shown that once a group has been victimized, current intergroup events can be interpreted as a continuation of historical victimization (Noor, Shnabel, Halabi, & Nadler, 2012). As

seen in the socio-historical accounts of the Quebecois Francophone, Acadian and Franco-Ontarian communities, Francophones can invoke past events that they feel testify to the wrongs their own group has suffered from the nefarious actions of Anglophone outgroups. Thus, future research on the historical representations of victimhood may partially account for why, despite their dominant provincial majority status, Francophone Quebecers share feelings of threat and linguistic insecurity with objectively weaker vitality Acadian and Franco-Ontarian minorities. Such research along with studies on the rhetoric of nationalism in Quebec could further test the validity of the two-solitude and three-solitude hypotheses, which have public policy implications for the cohesion of Canada.

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Table 2.1 Identity profile, language skills/usage and individual network of ethnolinguistic contact of the three participant groups: Francophone Quebecers, Acadians in New-Brunswick and Franco-Ontarians

	Francophone Quebecers		Acadians		Franco-Ontarians		Main effects		Interaction effect	
	n = 204		n = 227		n = 227		Within-subject (dependent measure)		Francophone participant group	
	Mean		Mean		Mean		F, df, η^2		F, df, η^2	
Identity							905.03***, 2.9, .58	127.75***, 2, .28	87.33***, 5.9, .21	
Canadian	4.29 _b		6.71 _a		6.72 _a					
Francophone	6.81 _a		6.67 _a		6.26 _b					
Provincial										
ingroup	6.70 _a		6.18 _b		6.16 _b					
Anglophone	1.98 _b		2.48 _b		3.95 _a					
Bilingual	4.29 _c		5.57 _b		6.29 _a					
Quality of Identity	5.65 _b		5.69 _b		6.16 _a			11.93**, 2, .035		
Language skills							395.98***, 1, .38	26.44***, 2, .075	127.29***, 2, .28	
French	6.98 _a		6.81 _b		6.51 _c					
English	5.18 _c		5.85 _b		6.52 _a					
Language usage							1488.05***, 1, .69	22.27***, 2, .064	271.12***, 2, .45	
French	6.79 _a		6.49 _b		5.07 _c					
English	2.24 _b		2.59 _b		4.59 _a					
INEC							1076.86**, 1, .63	48.90, 2, .13	170.70**, 2, .35	
Ingroup	6.75 _a		6.58 _a		6.09 _b					
EC outgroup	3.42 _c		3.98 _b		5.59 _a					
Ego-Vitality							1058.42***, 1, .60	5.57**, 2, .017	23.47***, 2, .027	
Ingroup	5.60 _{ab}		5.94 _a		5.53 _b					
EC outgroup ₁	3.18 _b		3.17 _b		3.89 _a					

Note. 1-For Francophone Quebecers, the target group is Quebecois Anglophones specifically

Repeated measure ANOVAs, F tests represent a significant effect at $p < .01^{**}$, $p < .001^{***}$

Mean scores on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at $p < .01$ ($a > b > c$)

Table 2.2 Desire for migrants, feelings of security, threat, intercultural anxiety and endorsement of zero-sum beliefs expressed by three participant groups: Francophone Quebecers, Acadians in New-Brunswick and Franco-Ontarians

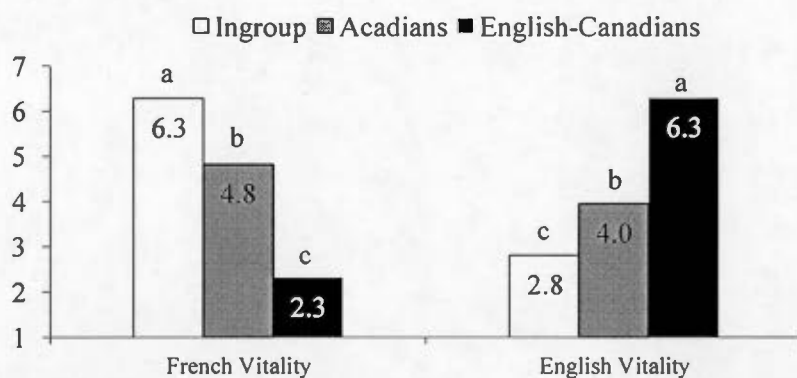
	Francophone Quebecers		Acadians		Franco-Ontarians		Main effects		Interaction effect	
	n = 204	Mean	n = 227	Mean	n = 227	Mean	Within-subject (dependent measure)	Francophone participant group	F, <i>df</i> , η^2	F, <i>df</i> , η^2
Desire for :										
FC migrants	5.00 _a		4.77 _{ab}		4.63 _b		352.35***, 2.63, .35	15.29***, 2, .045	6.62***, 5.25, .020	
EC migrants	3.78 _a		3.00 _b		3.74 _a					
Immigrants from France	5.22 _a		4.76 _b		4.75 _b					
Immigrants from Francophone Africa	4.91 _a		4.47 _a		4.56 _a					
Immigrants from United-States	3.59 _a		2.74 _b		3.06 _b					
Security							114.87***, 1.92, .15	27.17***, 2, .077	31.40***, 3.82, .087	
Economic	5.00 _b		4.60 _c		5.39 _a					
Cultural	4.40 _b		5.15 _a		4.97 _a					
Linguistic	3.60 _b		3.99 _b		4.91 _a					
Feeling of threat in the presence of:										
FC migrants	1.56 _b		2.93 _a		2.72 _a		537.15***, 1, .45	4.98** , 2, .015	4.98** , 2, .015	
EC migrants	3.63 _c		5.02 _a		4.26 _b					
Intercultural Anxiety										
FC outgroup	2.03 _c		2.62 _b		3.04 _a		15.88** , 1, .024	15.33** , 2, .045	42.78** , 2, .17	
EC outgroup	2.73 _{ab}		3.05 _a		2.57 _b					
Zero-Sum beliefs	3.54 _b		3.87 _a		3.58 _b			6.13** , 2, .018		

Note. FC: French Canadian; EC: English Canadian

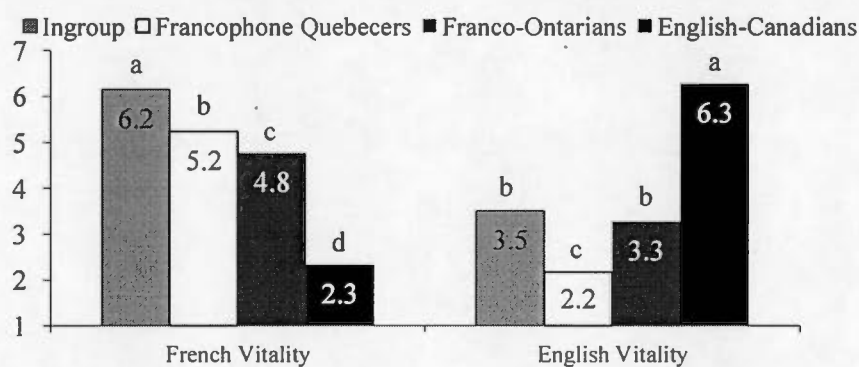
Repeated measure ANOVAs, *F* tests represent a significant effect at $p < .01^{**}$, $p < .001^{***}$

Mean scores on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at $p < .01$ ($a > b > c$)

(a) Francophone Quebecers (n = 204)



(b) Acadians in New Brunswick (n = 227)



(c) Franco-Ontarians (n = 227)

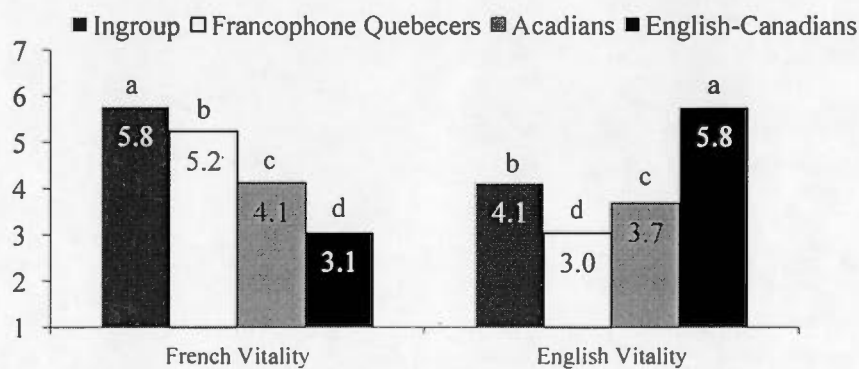


Figure 2.1 Perception of contribution of ingroup and FC/EC migrants to French/English vitality. (a) 2×3 RM ANOVA, significant interaction effect, $F = 812.86$, post-hoc t -tests, $a > b > c$, $p < .01$; (b) 2×4 RM ANOVA, significant interaction effect, $F = 610.85$, post-hoc t -tests, $a > b > c > d$, $p < .01$; (c) 2×4 RM ANOVA, significant interaction effect, $F = 243.77$, post-hoc t -tests, $a > b > c > d$, $p < .01$.

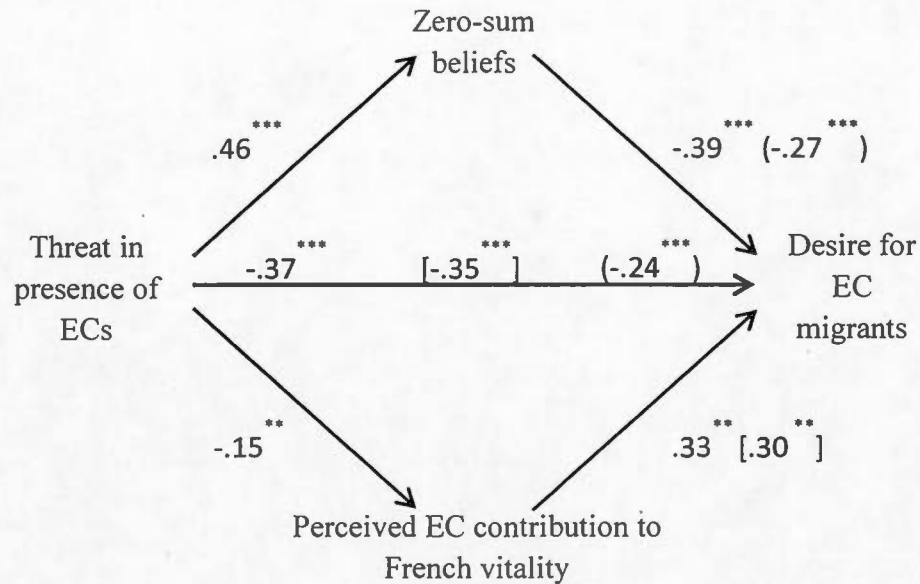


Figure 2.2 The role of zero-sum beliefs and perception that English Canadians (ECs) contribute to French vitality in mediating the relation between threat in presence of ECs and desire for EC migrants

Note. Pearson correlations are indicated on figure paths. Where applicable, partial correlations are also indicated, with [] showing the partial correlations obtained when threat in presence of ECs and perception that ECs contribute to French vitality are used together to predict desire for EC migrants, and () showing the partial correlations obtained when threat and zero-sum beliefs are used together to predict desire for EC migrants.

$**p < .01$ $***p < .001$

CHAPITRE III

PUSH-PULL FACTORS ACCOUNTING FOR INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION IN CANADA'S BILINGUAL BELT

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FRANCOPHONE ETHNIC ATTITUDES AND READINESS FOR INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION IN CANADA

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Abstract

Though existing research helps account for readiness of migrants to move internationally, few social psychological studies have focused on readiness of native born citizens to move internally across regions of their own country. French Canadians (FC) residing in Canada's bilingual belt comprised of Quebec, New-Brunswick and Ontario rated their readiness to move internally to a French or English province compared to their readiness to migrate to the United States. Questionnaires were completed in French by three groups of FC undergraduates: Quebecois Francophones (n=204), Acadians in New Brunswick (n=227), and Franco-Ontarians (n=227). Though readiness to emigrate to a French or English province was low across all groups, Franco-Ontarians were more willing to migrate out of Province and to the USA than both Acadians and Quebecois Francophones. Predictors of FC readiness to migrate to a French province were: seeking better career prospects, perceptions that FCs contribute to Francophone vitality, avoidance of linguistic tensions, integration-transformation acculturation orientation toward FC migrants. Predictors of FC readiness to move to an English Province were: seeking better career prospects, English language use, and acceptance of English Canadians as migrants to own province. Predictors of FC readiness for emigration to the United States were very similar to those for internal migration to an English Province, confirming that factors accounting for internal and international migration share much in common. Results are discussed using ethnolinguistic vitality and the Interactive Acculturation Model with implications for social cohesion between Francophone and Anglophone communities within Canada's Bilingual Belt.

Keywords: international/internal migration, ethnolinguistic vitality, Canada, Bilingual Belt, French Canadians

3.1 Introduction

The causes of international immigration movements have been researched by sociologists and economists. For example, the push-pull model emphasized economic factors such as contrasting unemployment rate and high wage differentials to account for movement of individuals from labor-abundant low-wage countries to labor-scarce high-wage destination countries (Massey & Espinosa, 1997). Better jobs and salaries are seen as 'pull' factors which motivate individuals to migrate from low to high opportunity countries. Aversive circumstances which incite individuals to move out of their country of origin were seen as 'push' factors reflecting macro-societal factors accounting for international migration. Non-economic 'push' factors in the country of origin include natural disasters, environmental degradation, widespread insecurity and corruption, political, ethnic and religious tensions, civil conflict and war (Weiner, 1992).

Less attention has been devoted to factors accounting for the internal migration of individuals sharing a common citizenship, across provinces and regions of multilingual and multicultural regions (provinces, states, countries, etc.). As proposed by King and Skeldon (2010), "conceptually, both types of migration derive from the same set of fundamental causes: inequalities in development, lack of employment prospects, poor incomes and living conditions between and within countries" (p. 1621). International and internal migration patterns can be complementary, reinforcing each other according to regional, political, economic and ethnic cleavages. Researchers are increasingly interested in studying correlates of internal migration in divided societies with strong regional and ethnolinguistic differentiation such as Russia (Guriev & Vakulenko, 2015), China (Shen 2013) Israel (Cohen, Czamanski, & Hefetz, 2012), and the United-States (Molloy, Smith, & Wozniak, 2011).

In a country, such as Canada, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and over the Arctic region, it is not surprising that economic, social and demographic development has been uneven across the Canadian territory. "Interprovincial migration has always been a powerful mechanism of population redistribution in the Canadian federation" (Coulombe, 2006, pp. 199-200), driven by employment disparities created by unequal economic development across Canada's ten provinces and three territories. Using large scale census data, economic studies have shown that unemployment and income differentials were key factors accounting for interprovincial migration in Canada (Bernard, Finnie, & St-Jean, 2008; Coulombe, & Tremblay, 2009). Canadian census analysis from 2002 to 2012 showed that the province of Alberta was a net beneficiary of internal migration, and that Saskatchewan recorded net gains since 2007 (Bendiner, 2013). It is in these two oil and gas rich provinces that economic recovery was strongest following the 2008 recession in North America. In this same ten-year period, Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario recorded job losses and some economic decline.

English Canadians (ECs), who make up 63% of the Canadian population and French Canadians (FCs), who constitute a minority of 21.4% are affected by both international and internal migration. Most bilingual (French-English) Canadians are French Canadians, and live in the bilingual belt, comprised of Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario. In New Brunswick and Ontario, FCs are linguistic minorities at both the provincial and federal levels, thus constituting a double national minority. In Quebec, FCs have a dual status: they constitute the dominant language majority within the province but remain a linguistic minority nationally in Canada. Canadian census data allows an assessment of interprovincial migration according to mother tongue for the period between 2006 and 2011. The census indicates that though the number of migrants relative to total provincial populations was small, there were net demographic losses of Anglophones in Ontario, New Brunswick and Quebec, while net losses of Francophones occurred in Quebec and Ontario. Only New Brunswick

had a marginal net gain of Francophone interprovincial migrants (Statistics Canada, 2011). Taking into account individual and labour market characteristics from census data, Bernard and colleagues (2008) highlighted language as a predictive factor of interprovincial migration in Canada, with French Canadians from the rest of Canada (ROC) being up to three times more likely to move from their province of residence than the general population. In contrast, Quebec Anglophones were up to ten times more likely to leave the French majority province of Quebec for the ROC.

The above interprovincial migration studies are based on an aggregate of census and economic data with less attention being paid to the personal reasons why individuals may desire to migrate from one region of their country to another. As a useful complementary approach to large scale census analyses, this study examines self-rated social and psychological reasons accounting for interprovincial migration. As a case study of such an approach this study focuses on French Canadians in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario and their readiness to migrate internally to a French or English province compared to their readiness to migrate internationally to the United States. The study explores social-psychological predictors for readiness to move internally to a French or English province in Canada as well as predictors for readiness to move to the United States. As such, this is the first Canadian study to include social-psychological factors as determinants for French Canadian readiness to move from their province of origin toward other Canadian provinces compared to readiness to move to the United States.

Readiness to migrate can be situated within the Migration Change Model which posits that the migration process is made up of distinctive phases experienced by individuals considering a move from their country of origin to a country of settlement (Tabor & Milfont, 2011). Though the model was designed to account for international migration, this study implies that it can also be used to account for internal migration across a large officially bilingual country like Canada. The Migration Change Model

proposes four phases accounting for the process of migration including: 1) pre-contemplation, 2) contemplation, 3) action and 4) acculturation. Pre-contemplation is driven by personality and family connections, which predispose some individuals to be potential migrants. The contemplation phase is made-up of the macro-societal and micro-issues considered by individuals as they formulate the cost-benefit components of their readiness to migrate. The action phase is the decision to migrate and the behaviours undertaken to apply for immigrant status and actually move to the country of destination. Acculturation is the process of cultural and psychological changes experienced by individuals as a result of their intercultural contacts with host majority members in the country or region of settlement. Our study focuses on the contemplation phase of the migration process as it deals with the macro and micro issues that help account for Francophone readiness to move internally to another Canadian province and internationally to the United States.

While we concur with the importance of micro factors related to individual economic mobility and family reunification, we posit that, in a bilingual and multicultural state like Canada, the perception of being the victim of personal and/or collective discrimination should also be considered as a potential factor for desire to move to another province. A large survey conducted in Canada showed that, in Quebec, twice as many Anglophones than Francophones declared having been personally victim of discrimination with language and accent (linguicism) being seen as the main factor accounting for such treatment relative to ethnicity, race and religion (Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, & Jantzen, 2007). Moreover, a nation-wide study conducted with senior secondary school Francophone students in French schools in the ROC found that 30.6% of such students declared having experienced some form of discrimination (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2010).

In addition to perception of discrimination, we tested macro-societal correlates of readiness to move arising from two broad theoretical frameworks: *ethnolinguistic*

vitality and *acculturation*. The first, *ethnolinguistic vitality*, refers to the strength of language communities within multilingual settings as determined by three broad dimensions of socio-structural variables: demography, institutional support and status (Bourhis & Landry, 2012). Demographic variables are related to the absolute number of community members that make up the language group and their distribution throughout the regional or national territory. Within democracies, demographic indicators of ‘strength in numbers’ can be used as a legitimizing tool for granting linguistic minorities the institutional support they need to maintain and transmit their language across the generations. Institutional support is defined as the degree of control a linguistic minority commands over the institutions needed to ensure the survival of their language and culture in dominant majority group settings. Language minorities struggle to achieve the institutional support needed to use their language within formal institutions, such as education, health care, regional government, commerce and the mass media. Institutional support promotes the use and inter-generational transmission of the minority language, thus contributing to the demographic vitality of linguistic minorities (Bourhis & Landry, 2012). Maintaining demo-linguistic strength and gaining institutional support is likely to be accompanied by gains in social status. Variables related to this third dimension of vitality include socio-historical status within the state, current status as a culturally and economically vibrant community, language planning for the status of its language regionally and nationally. High status groups enjoy a more positive social identity, which can facilitate collective mobilisation for the maintenance and improvement of its vitality position within the state, a motivation known as ego-vitality (Allard & Landry, 1994). Based on the ethnolinguistic vitality framework, French Canadians migrating to another province may weaken the demographic vitality of their FC ingroup in their province of origin while boosting the vitality of the Francophone communities they have joined in their province of destination.

Second, based on the Berry (2005) acculturation framework, we used the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM), which was designed to account for intergroup processes that characterize relations between host majority and minority group members (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Sénécal, 1997). The IAM proposes that, by virtue of their vitality advantage in the country of settlement, dominant host majority members may endorse six acculturation orientations toward minorities, three of which are welcoming and include individualism, integrationism, integrationism-transformation, while three others are unwelcoming: assimilationism, segregationism and exclusionism. Numerous empirical studies in Canada, the USA and Europe have shown that host community members are more likely to endorse welcoming acculturation orientations toward ‘valued’ immigrants and less welcoming acculturation orientations toward ‘devalued’ immigrants (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). However, few studies have focused on host acculturation orientations held toward internal migrants who share a common citizenship membership but whose ethnolinguistic backgrounds may differ across different regions of the country. Based on the classic ingroup favouritism effect, we propose that French-Canadian host community members in the three Bilingual Belt provinces may endorse more welcoming acculturation orientations toward own group FC out of province internal migrants than toward outgroup EC internal migrants. In addition to such socio-psychological considerations, the willingness of FCs in Canada's Bilingual Belt to migrate interprovincially and to the USA as well as the factors accounting for the intention to migrate should also be understood in the socio-historical context of Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario. It is evident however that the brief account of French/English ethnic relations in Canada's bilingual belt described below cannot do justice to the complex history of such relations as they developed over the last century.

3.1.1 Historical and sociolinguistic context

Based on the 2011 Canadian census, Quebecois Francophones number 6,164,745 (78.9%), an increase in absolute numbers from 4,860,410 (80.7%) in 1971 (Statistics Canada, 2011). Up to the 1950s, Francophones in Quebec remained an economically and socially disadvantaged majority who nevertheless succeeded in controlling their own government administration, religious, educational and health institutions. As Quebecois Francophones became increasingly educated, secular, and wealthy following the modernisation of the 'Quiet Revolution' in the 1960s, the French language emerged as the last symbol of Quebecois national identity (Plourde & Georgeault, 2008). *Québécois* French nationalists highlighted the threatened position of the French language and culture in a province increasingly integrated economically and politically within North America. The first sovereigntist government, elected in 1976, adopted the Charter of the French language (Bill 101, 1977) designed to increase the status of French relative to English in all institutions of the province and in the business world (Corbeil, 2007). Overall the status and use of French increased and successive governments succeeded in controlling the Quebec public administration and most of the political, cultural, economic and state institutions of the Province.

Quebecois sovereigntists also nurtured dissociation from the one million French Canadians living in minority communities in the ROC (Thériault, 1999). Francophone communities outside Quebec were dismissed as doomed minorities bound to assimilate to the English-Canadian majority in the ROC. Without the burden of responsibility or solidarity with FCs in the ROC, nationalists could more easily legitimise the separation of Quebec from Canada. Despite such political considerations, it remains that many Quebecois Francophones maintained affective and linguistic ties with Francophone minorities in the ROC.

With a population of 240,455 French speakers in 2011, Acadians represent 32.5% of the New Brunswick population, down from 33.8% (214,720) in 1971 (Statistics Canada, 2011). The demographic vitality of Francophone communities within New Brunswick is bolstered by the fact that 80 % of Acadians live in regions of the province where they reside as linguistic majorities. Following the adoption of anti-French/anti-Catholic laws up to the early 20th century, Acadians created numerous associations to defend the vitality of their French cultural communities (Laxer, 2007). It was not until the 1960s, when the first Acadian was elected Prime Minister of New Brunswick, that Acadian communities gained institutional support in education, health and social services. In 1981, the New Brunswick government adopted *Bill 88*, an Act Recognizing the Equality of the Two Official Linguistic Communities in New Brunswick thus enshrining French education and health services for Acadians.

Franco-Ontarians numbered close to half a million people in 1971, representing 6.3% (482,350) of the Ontario population, dropping to 4.4% of the population by 2011 though representing 561,160 Franco-Ontarians (Statistics Canada, 2011). While only 14 % of Franco-Ontarians live in a region of Ontario where they constitute a majority, most live in areas where they account for less than 30 % of the regional population (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010). Along with the drawing power of English in Ontario, it is the frequency of French/English mixed marriages that is seen by demolinguists as contributing most to the decline in the proportion of Franco-Ontarians in the Province (Mougeon, 2014).

French language schools in Ontario were not officially recognized under the provincial Education Act until 1968. Ontario accepted Section 23 of the 1982 Canadian Charter, which stipulated that official language minorities have the right to have their children educated in English or French across Canada where numbers warrant. In 1986, the Ontario legislature adopted Bill 8, which guaranteed a number

of provincial government services in French in designated areas of the province and recognized the right to use both English and French in the Ontario legislature. By 1997, Franco-Ontarians achieved full governance over their education institutions at the primary and secondary level across the Province (Gilbert, 2010).

FC and EC communities in Canada's Bilingual Belt have a complex history marked by linguistic tensions and much effort by FCs to limit linguistic assimilation to the Anglophone majority. Each province offers a different social and economic climate which affects the vitalities of the Acadian, Franco-Ontarian and Quebecois Francophone communities which in turn may affect the desire of individual Francophones to leave their province for the ROC or the USA. For the sake of maintaining ethnolinguistic cohesion, the Canadian Government adopted the *Official Languages Act* in 1969, which enshrined the status of French and English as co-official languages and provided bilingual federal services for French and English Canadian minorities across the country (Fraser, 2006). The roadmap for Canada's official languages was adopted in 2003 and by 2018 will have provided over \$3 billion to enhance the institutional vitality of official-language minorities across Canada. At stake is the issue of thwarting the growing territorialisation of only Francophones within Quebec and only Anglophones in the ROC.

3.1.2 Hypotheses

This study constitutes the first Canadian case study exploring the economic, family and social-psychological factors likely to account for the desire of individual Francophones to migrate interprovincially compared to migrating to the United States. Undergraduates were chosen as respondents in this study given their comparable educational and career achievements and higher geographic mobility as

younger members of their respective local Francophone communities, compared to older FCs with more established job and family ties within their own province. As our first hypothesis (H1), we propose that Quebecois Francophones will express the least readiness to leave their province because, as members of the high-vitality majority, they would perceive few advantages in moving to low-vitality minority Francophone communities in New Brunswick, Ontario or the United States.

However, the status of FCs in New-Brunswick and Ontario as fragile minorities may encourage Acadians and Franco-Ontarians to migrate to Quebec, the only strong vitality French majority province in Canada (H2). As regards motivations, factors such as seeking better career prospects and joining family members/spouses are expected to best account for readiness to move to another province in Canada or to the USA, followed by factors pertaining to avoidance of linguistic tensions in the home province as described in the historical overviews (H3). We also expect the following micro social-psychological correlates, to be predictors of FC readiness to move to another province (H4): English language proficiency, financial situation, perception of being personally and/or collectively victim of discrimination, desire for FC/EC internal migrants, welcoming acculturation orientations toward FCs and ECs, and low personal interest in improving Francophone vitality.

According to the United States Office of Immigration Statistics (2013), since 2000, an average of 23,000 Canadian immigrants were legally admitted to the United States every year on various kinds of visas, some of which leading to full American citizenship. Though such migration data do not distinguish French- from English-Canadians migrants, the yearly number of Canadian emigrants moving to the USA does attest to the sociological reality of such cross-border movements. Consequently, we propose that predictors of Francophone readiness to migrate to the United States should be similar to those predictors for readiness to move to an English majority Province of Canada (H5).

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Participants and procedure

French Canadians (FCs) in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario included in the study were undergraduate students between 18 and 35 years of age who met the following criteria: they had French as their mother tongue, and both their parents were born in Canada and had knowledge of French. Quebecois Francophone, Acadian and Franco-Ontarian participants were born and lived in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario, respectively. The sample was made up of 658 participants: 204 Quebecois Francophones, 227 Acadians from New Brunswick and 227 Franco-Ontarians. There were 443 females and 215 males with an average age of 21.9 years.

Participants were recruited in French language classes within social sciences and education faculties at the Université du Québec à Montréal in Quebec, the Université de Moncton in New Brunswick, and finally the University of Ottawa as well as Laurentian University, both bilingual institutions in Ontario. Undergraduates completed the questionnaire during class time and were fully debriefed in class.

3.2.2 Measures

All items included in the questionnaire used 7-point rating scales (1 = *not at all*, 4 = *moderately*, 7 = *very much*) unless otherwise indicated. FC participants rated their readiness to migrate by answering the following three questions: “To what extent would you be ready to move for a long time: 1) to Quebec (Franco-Ontarian/Acadian respondents), or to Acadia in New Brunswick (Quebecois Francophone respondents); 2) to an English-speaking province of Canada; 3) to the United-States”. Items and

scales described below were used as social-psychological correlates (micro & macro-societal) likely to predict FC respondent readiness to migrate to any of the three destinations.

The *Multiple Identification Scale* (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004) with national and linguistic groups was measured for each of the following seven items: “To what extent do you identify as: Canadian/Québécois or Acadian or Franco-Ontarian, Francophone/Anglophone/bilingual, immigrant/other”. Linguistic Skills were measured using four items that assess to what extent respondents understand/speak French and English, its reliability (Cronbach’s alpha) ranging from .62 to .80 for French and .84 to .88 for English across the three respondent groups. The Language Use scale was comprised of eight items that measured the extent to which participants used French and English at home, with their friends, at work and at college/university (all participant groups considered, C. alpha = .58 – .80 for French; .70 – .80 for English).

The *Personal Financial Situation* scale (Harvey & Bourhis, 2012) contained five statements concerning the present and future financial situation of respondents as well as their job prospects in the province of residence. For example, “I consider that my financial situation is very promising in the years to come in Quebec” (C. alpha = .60 – .70 according to the provincial setting).

The *Security of Identity* scale (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004) was made up of three items, as follows: “To what extent do you feel secure economically/culturally/linguistically” as a Québécois or Acadian or Franco-Ontarian? A single item measured the feeling that ingroup identity – as Québécois, Acadian or Franco-Ontarian – is threatened by the presence of the ingroup and three outgroups, which included English Canadians and two other outgroups among the following, depending on the host community at hand: Quebecois Francophones, Acadians, Franco-Ontarians and Quebec Anglophones.

A short version of the *Ego-Vitality* scale (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) included six items measuring the degree to which respondents were willing to mobilise personally to improve the vitality of their own Francophone ingroup and for the English-Canadian outgroup on the three dimensions of ego-vitality, namely: demographic strength, institutional control and status (C. alpha = .87 – .92 for Francophone ingroup; .86 – .92 for English-Canadian outgroup).

Francophones completed the *Reasons for migration* scale adapted for Canadian interprovincial migration (Stelzl & Esses, 2007) by rating the importance of several reasons for migrating to a French or to an English province. Key items of this 12-item scale included those related to attractive features of the province of destination such as: “To improve my career prospects”, “To join my family”, “To get married or be close to my partner” and “For personal adventure”. Migration items related to aversive features of the province of origin, including: “To avoid being the victim of discrimination”, “To leave behind linguistic tensions”.

Respondents rated their desire for accepting French Canadians and English Canadians as internal migrants to their respective province. In addition, Francophone undergraduates in the three settings rated how much they felt EC vs. FC migrants contributed to their own Francophone vitality and to Anglophone vitality on items such as: vigour of the English and French language, socio-economic well-being, harmonious relations between the French/English communities, and the overall vitality of the French and English provincial communities.

The three groups of FCs completed the 18-item *Host Community Acculturation Scale* (HCAS; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004) for the culture, values and customs domains toward FC and EC migrants from other provinces. The following are examples of HCAS items measuring three welcoming and three unwelcoming orientations in the

cultural domain from the point of view of Quebecois Francophones toward English-Canadian interprovincial migrants. *Individualism*: “Whether English-Canadian migrants maintain their cultural heritage or adopt the culture of the Québécois makes no difference because each person is free to adopt the culture of their choice.”

Integrationism: “English-Canadian migrants should maintain their own culture while also adopting the cultures of the Québécois.” *Integrationism-Transformation*:

“Québécois should transform certain aspects of their own culture in order to really integrate the culture of English Canadians from the ROC.” *Assimilationism*: English-Canadian migrants should give up their culture of origin for the sake of adopting the Québécois culture.” *Segregationism*: “English-Canadian migrants can maintain their culture of origin as long as they do not mix it with Québécois culture.” *Exclusionism*: “Québécois have no benefit to gain from the presence of English Canadians and their culture.” The HCAS internal consistency (Cronbach’s alpha) was high for each acculturation orientation combining the three participant groups and the three domains: .84 for individualism, .80 for integrationism, .86 for integrationism-transformation, .80 for assimilationism, .87 for segregationism, and .82 for exclusionism.

The *Perception of Personal Discrimination* scale monitored the extent to which participants felt they had personally been victim of discrimination in the last five years in three settings: at work, in banks/stores/restaurants, and at school and/or university (C. alpha = .55 – .85) (Bourhis et al., 2007). The Perceived Collective Discrimination scale was used to evaluate the extent to which undergraduates thought ingroup and outgroup members suffered from collective discrimination in three key settings: at work, in stores/banks/restaurants, and in school/at university. The four target groups for this scale were the Francophone ingroup and three relevant outgroups: French-Canadian migrants from Quebec, Acadia, and/or Ontario, as well as English-Canadian migrants. The Cronbach alphas obtained across the three participant groups for the collective discrimination scale were .81 to .87 for the

Francophone ingroup, .74 to .84 for FC outgroups and .76 to .89 for the English-Canadian outgroup.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 Social-psychological profile of the three FC groups

As seen in Table 3.1, the three groups identified strongly and positively as Francophones and with their respective provincial ingroup. However, unlike Franco-Ontarians and Acadians who identified as being Canadians as much as with their regional Acadian and Franco-Ontarian origin, Quebecois Francophones identified as Québécois much more than as Canadians. Franco-Ontarians had stronger Anglophone identity and weaker Francophone identity than Acadians and Quebecois Francophones alike. Franco-Ontarians also identified the most as bilingual, and reported highest English language skills, followed by Acadians and Quebecois Francophones. English use in everyday life was more frequent among Franco-Ontarians than among Acadian and Quebecois Francophone students. While the three Francophone groups reported very high French language skills, French language use was most frequent by Quebecois and least frequent by Franco-Ontarians. As to perceptions of their current financial and career prospects in their home province, Quebecois Francophones reported a stronger financial situation than did Franco-Ontarians and Acadians (Table 3.2).

Though perceptions of being personally victim of discrimination was weak overall, results showed that Acadians and Franco-Ontarians reported being more personally victim of discrimination than majority group Quebecois Francophones who reported experiencing very little discrimination in their personal lives (Table 3.2). As in

previous studies, the three groups of Francophones perceived that members of their own group experienced more discrimination than themselves personally. Compared to Quebecois Francophones, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians perceived that their own group experienced more discrimination. Acadians and Franco-Ontarians also perceived that their own group suffered more from discrimination than English-Canadian migrants. In contrast, Quebecois Francophones perceived that their own group was less victim of discrimination than English-Canadian migrants to Quebec. FC students from the three provinces expressed a greater feeling of threat in the presence of EC migrants settled in their province than from the presence of FC migrants (Table 3.1). Acadians felt most threatened by the presence of EC migrants, followed by Quebecois Francophones and Franco-Ontarians.

On the ego-vitality scale, all FC participants expressed a stronger will to mobilise in favour of their own group Francophone vitality than for the EC outgroup vitality. Acadians were more willing to mobilise to improve their Francophone vitality than were Franco-Ontarians and Quebecois Francophones. Franco-Ontarians were more willing than Acadians and Quebecois Francophones to mobilise in favour of improving English-Canadian vitality.

As can be seen in Table 3.3, the three groups of Francophones expressed a stronger desire to have French Canadians as migrants to their own province than to have English-Canadian migrants. Compared to Quebecois Francophone and Franco-Ontarian respondents, Acadians were least willing to have English Canadians settle as migrants within their own province. The three groups of Francophone undergraduates also felt that French-Canadian migrants were much more likely to contribute to the vitality of their own respective French community than English-Canadian migrants. It was minority group Acadian and Franco-Ontarian respondents who more strongly endorsed the view that FC migrants bolster the vitality of their own Francophone communities. Taken together, these results suggest that Francophone respondents in

each province considered FC migrants to be more valued than EC migrants, especially in regards to their potential contributions to the vitality of their own group.

3.3.2 Acculturation orientations

Considering host community acculturation orientations toward both FC and EC migrants, Table 3.3 shows that overall, Francophones in each province endorsed individualism and integrationism most strongly, followed by segregationism, while assimilationism, exclusionism and integrationism-transformation were least endorsed. Segregationism was moderately endorsed by FCs in the three provinces. As for Quebecois Francophone majority group respondents, endorsement of individualism and integrationism-transformation was greater toward FC migrants than for EC migrants, while endorsement of segregationism and assimilationism was greater for EC than for FC migrants. In contrast, minority group Acadian and Franco-Ontarian undergraduates endorsed orientations toward FC and EC migrants that were equivalent for both welcoming and less welcoming acculturation orientations.

3.3.3 Readiness to migrate and reasons for migration

Readiness to move interprovincially within Canada and to the USA was low for the three Francophone groups. As seen in Table 3.2, Franco-Ontarians were somewhat more ready to move to a French or English province than Acadians and Quebecois Francophones. Acadians were even less ready to move to the United States than Franco-Ontarians and Quebecois Francophones. When each participant group was considered separately, the data showed that Franco-Ontarians and Acadians were just

as ready to move to Quebec as to an English province but much less to the USA. However, Quebecois Francophones expressed a greater readiness to migrate to an English province and to the United-States than to Francophone Acadia (New Brunswick).

Multivariate analyses can uncover the factors which best account for Francophones' readiness to migrate internally to a French or to an English Province. Principal component analyses (PCAs, Varimax rotation) were used in order to identify clusters of items on the *reasons for migration scale*. Two PCAs were conducted combining the three participant groups ($n = 658$), one for each Canadian destination: to a French province or region and to an English province. Reasons for migrating to a French province consisted of the following three orthogonal factors (item beta weights are in parentheses). The first was *seeking a better career* which consisted of the following items: 'To get a better job' (.80), 'To ensure a better professional career' (.84) and 'For adventure' (.73). The second factor was *family unification* consisting of: 'To join my family' (.83) and 'To get married or be close to my partner' (.82). The third was *avoiding linguistic tensions* composed of the items 'To avoid being the victim of discrimination' (.85) and 'To leave behind linguistic tensions' (.79).

Reasons for migrating to an English province revealed three orthogonal factors (item beta weights are in parentheses). *Seeking a better career* was comprised of the items 'To ensure a better professional career' (.88) and 'To get a better job' (.87). *Cultural experience* included the items 'For the experience of living in an English majority culture' (.84) and 'To improve my English skills' (.79). The third factor was *family unification*, including the items 'To join my family' (.89) and 'To get married or be close to my partner' (.86).

The mean of each of the six factors on the 7-point scale was calculated, the scores representing respondents' rating of the importance of each factors ($n = 658$). For

readiness to move to a French province/region, seeking a better career was most important ($M = 4.2$), followed by family unification ($M = 3.9$), while avoiding linguistic tensions was least important ($M = 2.2$). For moving to an English province, family unification ($M = 4.2$) and seeking a better career ($M = 4.2$) were rated as more important than cultural experience ($M = 3.1$).

3.3.4 Predicting readiness to migrate

Considering the three groups of FCs combined ($n = 658$), we conducted Pearson correlations between the *reasons for migration* factors described above and relevant *socio-psychological* variables included in the questionnaire as independent variables (IVs) and readiness to move to the following destinations treated as dependent variables (DVs): to a French province (DV_1); to an English province (DV_2); and to the United States (DV_3) (this correlation matrix is available from authors upon request). Only the IVs that were significantly correlated with the DVs were used for multiple regressions (stepwise) analyses.

As seen in Table 3.4, *migration reasons* and *socio-psychological* correlates were simultaneously tested as *competing predictors* in three multiple regressions (stepwise), one for each destination combining the three groups of FC respondents ($n = 658$). Absence of multicollinearity was verified for each regression based on the condition index. The following six independent variables (IVs) were highly significant predictors of Francophone readiness to move to a French province: seeking a better career, the perception that FC migrants contribute to Francophone vitality, avoiding linguistic tensions, endorsement of the integrationism-transformation acculturation orientations toward FC migrants, French language use and the desire for FCs to migrate to their own province. Only three IVs were

significant predictors of Francophone readiness to move to an English province: seeking a better career, English language skills and use, desire for EC migrants to own province. Finally, Francophone readiness to move to the United States was predicted by five IVs: seeking a better career, desire for EC migrants, seeking cultural experience, English language skills and use, endorsement of the integration-transformation acculturation orientation toward ECs.

3.4 Discussion

The social-psychological profiles of the Acadian, Quebecois Francophone and Franco-Ontarian students emerged quite clearly, thus validating their inclusion as Bilingual Belt French Canadians in our study. These three groups of participants strongly identified as Francophones and as members of their respective provincial linguistic communities while declaring stronger competence in French than English and more use of French than English in their everyday life. The three groups of French Canadians (FCs) expressed a greater will to mobilise to improve the vitality of their own Francophone community than to mobilise for the vitality of the out-group English-Canadian (EC) community. Francophone respondents in each province were also consistent in considering that FC internal migrants were more likely to contribute to the vitality of their own Francophone community than would EC migrants. Francophone undergraduates from each setting were also consistent in feeling much less threatened by the presence of FC internal migrants than by EC ones and this despite their shared citizenship as Canadians. It followed that Francophone respondents in each setting much preferred to have FC than EC internal migrants to enhance the vitality of their provincial Francophone community.

As expected, Francophone students in the three provinces expressed low readiness to migrate to another Canadian province or to the United States while Franco-Ontarians, who are generally more bilingual/bicultural, expressed greater readiness to migrate interprovincially. As expected, Quebecois Francophones expressed the least readiness to leave their province given their majority status in Quebec. They were less ready to move out of their province than were Franco-Ontarians. Interestingly, Quebecois Francophones were less ready to move to the Acadian region of New Brunswick than to another English province or to the United States, which may perhaps be explained by the economic condition of New Brunswick, which generally suffers from a lack of employment opportunities.

We found little support for our second hypothesis. Despite their minority status, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians were as unwilling to move to French majority Quebec as they were to move to an English majority Province. Such results may reflect the historical and cultural divide that emerged between the Quebecois Francophone majority and the weaker vitality Acadian and Franco-Ontarian minorities of the Bilingual Belt (Thériault, 1999; Thériault & Meunier, 2008). This ambivalence toward French-Canadian minorities in the ROC was in part supported by acculturation results showing that Quebecois Francophones were equally integrationist and individualist toward EC migrants as they were toward Acadian migrants. However, it remains that Quebecois Francophones were less assimilationist, segregationist and exclusionist toward Acadian than toward EC migrants.

Some support for hypothesis three was obtained given that factors related to *reasons for migration* did predict readiness to move to a French and English province. The results of our multiple regression analysis results (Table 3.4) showed that, in line with economic studies, seeking better career prospects was the strongest predictor for Francophone readiness to move not only to a French or English Canadian province but also to the United States. Novel in this study was the finding that avoiding

linguistic tensions did emerge as a significant factor only when it came to the prospect of moving to a French region/province.

Social-psychological variables proposed in our fourth hypothesis were also confirmed as predictors of Francophone readiness to migrate. Multiple regression analysis (Table 3.4) showed that the following correlates predicted readiness to move to a French Province/region, namely: strong French language use in everyday settings, perceptions that French Canadians contribute to Francophone vitality and desire for Francophone migrants.

Francophone readiness to move to an English province was strongly predicted by positive attitudes toward English Canadians: strong English language use in everyday life and desire to welcome English speaking migrants. These same variables predicted readiness to move to the United States as well, in addition to a few others, notably the wish for a new cultural experience. Thus, we have support for hypothesis five positing that factors accounting for Francophone readiness to migrate internally to an English-speaking province and internationally to the United States could be similar. For many French Canadians, English-Canada is seen as culturally similar to the USA. In line with the Migration Change Model (Tabor & Milfont, 2011), both macro and micro factors were found to predict Francophone readiness to migrate in the contemplation phase, though it remains to be seen whether or not we would obtain similar predictors for FCs who are in the action phase of the migration process.

Regarding the role of ethnolinguistic vitality in explaining Francophone readiness for interprovincial migration, regression analyses showed that the more FC respondents perceived FC migrants to contribute to French vitality in their home province, the more ready they were to move to a French region of Canada. Could this mean that moving to a French province or region is seen by Francophones as contributing to the constant effort to improve the vitality of all Francophone communities in Canada?

Partly supporting this interpretation, correlation tests showed that the more Francophones were motivated to improve the vitality of their own community, the *less ready* they were to move to English Canada where Francophone communities lacked much presence, or to the USA. Conversely, the more French Canadians were motivated to improve English-Canadian vitality in their own province, the *more ready* they were to move to an English province and to the United States, likely seen as attractive culturally-similar destinations. At the very least, our findings reveal a strong link between Francophone concerns for ingroup and outgroup vitality and openness to migrate nationally or internationally.

As seen in the regression results outlined in Table 3.4, the desire for FC and EC migrants consistently emerged as a significant predictor of readiness to move to one of the three target destinations. It may be that our French-Canadian respondents were attracted to destinations (province or country) where they were likely to find communities favourable to their own culture. Given the strong relationship between desire for internal migrants and personal readiness to migrate, it is reasonable to propose that openness to both incoming immigrants and readiness to become an emigrant characterises Francophones who endorse more cosmopolitan continental orientations.

In a similar vein, our study showed that out of the six possible host community acculturations endorsed by French-Canadian respondents, only the weakly endorsed integration-transformation orientation significantly predicted readiness to migrate (Table 3.4). Francophones who endorsed the idea of transforming features of their own culture to better integrate French and English-Canadian migrants were also more likely to migrate to a French Province or to the United States. This result suggests a link between the way one welcomes internal migrants as a host community member and one's readiness to migrate both internally and internationally, thereby transforming oneself through the process of acculturation. Until now, the Interactive

Acculturation Model had not addressed how host community acculturation orientations could predict readiness to emigrate. It is noteworthy that integrationism-transformation, rather than integrationism or individualism, was the only predictive host community acculturation orientation. In previous research, Quebecois Francophone endorsement of the integration-transformation orientation was predicted by favourable attitudes toward immigration and low intercultural anxiety (Bourhis, Barrette, & Moriconi, 2008). The question is whether Francophones endorsing integration-transformation with such a psychological profile are also most willing to migrate internally and internationally? Our results showed that FC endorsement of less welcoming acculturation orientations such as segregationism and exclusionism were not related to readiness to migrate to another Canadian province or to the United States. Francophones who were less welcoming toward English-Canadian migrants were also those who did not wish to submit themselves to the challenge of migrating out of their own province. Clearly, more research is needed to better understand the relationship between host community acculturation orientations and readiness for intra-national and international migration.

Taken together, our findings suggest that Quebecois Francophone, Acadian and Franco-Ontarian participants were keenly aware of the vitality position of their own Francophone community relative to that of their respective provincial EC community. Awareness of relative FC vs. EC vitality likely reflects historical struggles by Francophone minorities to defend and maintain their demographic, institutional and status positions within English majority provinces of New Brunswick and Ontario. In Quebec, such contrasting vitality perceptions reflect Francophone struggles to assert their status position as the dominant majority relative to Quebec Anglophones often portrayed as a 'Trojan horse' minority threatening the vitality of French within the province embedded within mainly Anglophone North America. That such polarised French/English perceptions were obtained with young Francophones in the three settings should alert provincial and federal policy makers that promoting the

institutional vitality of Francophone communities should be matched by efforts to increase French/English contacts that are designed to foster more harmonious intercultural relations in Canada's bilingual belt.

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Table 3.1 Identity profile, language skills/usage, feeling of threat and ego-vitality of: Quebecois Francophones, Acadians in New-Brunswick and Franco-Ontarians

	Quebecois Francophones		Acadians		Franco-Ontarians		Main effects		Interaction effect	
	n = 204	M	n = 227	M	n = 227	M	Within-subject F, df, η^2	Franco-group F, df, η^2	F, df, η^2	
Identity							905.03 ^{***} , 2.9, .58	127.75 ^{***} , 2, .28	87.33 ^{***} , 5.9, .21	
Canadian	4.3 _b		6.7 _a		6.7 _a					
Francophone	6.8 _a		6.7 _a		6.3 _b					
Provincial ingroup	6.7 _a		6.2 _b		6.2 _b					
Anglophone	2.0 _b		2.5 _b		4.0 _a					
Bilingual	4.3 _c		5.6 _b		6.3 _a					
Language skills							395.98 ^{***} , 1, .38	26.44 ^{***} , 2, .075	127.29 ^{***} , 2, .28	
French	7.0 _a		6.8 _b		6.5 _c					
English	5.2 _c		5.9 _b		6.5 _a					
Language usage							1488.05 ^{***} , 1, .69	22.27 ^{***} , 2, .064	271.12 ^{***} , 2, .45	
French	6.8 _a		6.5 _b		5.1 _c					
English	2.2 _b		2.6 _b		4.6 _a					
Feeling of threat							537.15 ^{***} , 1, .45	4.98 ^{**} , 2, .015	4.98 ^{**} , 2, .015	
FC outgroup	1.6 _b		2.9 _a		2.7 _a					
EC outgroup	3.6 _c		5.0 _a		4.3 _b					
Ego-Vitality							1058.42 ^{***} , 1, .60	5.57 ^{**} , 2, .017	23.47 ^{***} , 2, .027	
Ingroup	5.6 _{ab}		5.9 _a		5.5 _b					
EC outgroup ¹	3.2 _b		3.2 _b		3.9 _a					

Note. Repeated measure ANOVAs, F tests represent a significant effect at $p < .01^{**}$, $p < .001^{***}$. Mean scores on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at $p < .01$ ($a > b > c$)

¹For Quebecois Francophones, the target group is Quebec Anglophones specifically

Table 3.2 Readiness to migrate to a French province or region, an English province or to the United-States; perceived financial situation; and perception of personal/collective discrimination of: Quebecois Francophones, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians

	Quebecois Francophones n = 204		Acadians, New Brunswick n = 227		Franco-Ontarians n = 227		Main effects		Interaction effect	
	M		M		M		Within-subject F, d.f., η^2	Province F, d.f., η^2	F, d.f., η^2	
Readiness to move to :							57.8 ^{***} , 1.92, .076	28.76 ^{**} , 2, .088	23.77 ^{**} , 3.8, .063	
French region or province	2.3 _b		2.6 _b		3.6 _a					
English province ROC	2.7 _b		2.8 _b		3.7 _a					
United-States	2.6 _a		1.8 _b		2.4 _a					
Financial situation/prospects	5.3 _a		4.5 _c		4.9 _b			49.88 ^{***} , 2, .13		
Perception of personal discrimination	1.6 _b		2.4 _a		2.5 _a			28.85 ^{***} , 2		
Perception of group discrimination against:							106.34 ^{***} , 1.7, .14	21.19 ^{***} , 2, .061	94.36 ^{***} , 3.3, .22	
Ingroup	2.3 _b		3.8 _a		3.5 _a					
EC migrants	3.1 _a		2.5 _b		2.3 _b					

Note. For Quebecois Francophones, the French destination is the region of Acadia (New Brunswick); for Franco-Ontarians and Acadians, it is Quebec. Repeated measure ANOVAs, F tests represent a significant effect at $p < .01^{**}$, $p < .001^{***}$. Mean scores on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at $p < .01$ (a > b > c)

Table 3.3 Desire for internal French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) migrants, contributions by FC and EC migrants to in-group vitality, and acculturation orientations toward FC and EC migrants by: Quebecois Francophones, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians

	Quebecois Francophones n = 204		Acadians n = 227		Franco-Ontarians n = 227		Main effects		Interaction effect
	M		M		M		Within-subject <i>F</i> , <i>df</i> , η^2	Province <i>F</i> , <i>df</i> , η^2	
Desire for:							480.62 ^{***} , 1, 41	11.02 ^{***} , 2, .033	19.75 ^{***} , 2, .034
FC migrants	5.0 _a		4.8 _{ab}		4.6 _b				
EC migrants	3.8 _a		3.0 _b		3.7 _a				
Contribution to French vitality							991.84 ^{***} , 1, .60	20.25 ^{***} , 2, .058	6.68 ^{**} , 2, .008
FC migrants	4.8 _b		5.3 _a		5.2 _a				
EC migrants	2.3 _b		2.4 _b		3.1 _a				
Acculturation orientations							1162.67 ^{***} , 3, 8, .64	14.38 ^{***} , 2, .042	7.09 ^{***} , 9, .021
Individualism	FC : 5.5 _b EC : 5.0 _b		FC : 5.9 _a EC : 5.9 _a		FC : 5.6 _{ab} EC : 5.6 _a				
Integrationism	FC : 5.7 _a EC : 5.7 _a		FC : 5.3 _{ab} EC : 5.3 _b		FC : 5.1 _b EC : 4.9 _c				
Integrationism-transformation	FC : 2.3 _a EC : 2.1 _b		FC : 1.8 _b EC : 1.9 _b		FC : 2.6 _a EC : 2.5 _a				
Assimilation	FC : 1.4 _b EC : 1.9 _{ab}		FC : 1.6 _b EC : 1.7 _b		FC : 1.9 _a EC : 2.0 _a				
Segregation	FC : 3.9 _b EC : 4.2 _b		FC : 4.6 _a EC : 4.8 _a		FC : 4.3 _{ab} EC : 4.5 _a				
Exclusion	FC : 1.8 _c EC : 2.0 _c		FC : 2.7 _b EC : 2.5 _b		FC : 3.2 _a EC : 3.1 _a				

Note. Repeated measure ANOVAs, F tests represent a significant effect at $p < .01^{**}$, $p < .001^{***}$. Mean scores on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at $p < .01$ ($a > b > c$). For acculturation orientations, the interaction effect shown is triple 6 (orientations) \times 2 (target group) \times 3 (province); FC target group for Franco-Ontarians/Acadians is Quebecois Francophones; for Quebecois Francophones, it is Acadians

Table 3.4 Three multiple regressions testing socio-psychological correlates IV) as predictors of readiness to move to: a French or English region/province of Canada or to the United-States (DV) by the three participant groups combined (n = 658)

Predictors	Readiness to move to French region/province of Canada			$R^2 = 29\%$
	B	Beta	<i>p</i>	
Seeking a better career	.34	.33	<.001	
Perception that FCs contribute to in-group vitality	.24	.19	.001	
Avoid linguistic tensions in own province	.15	.13	.001	
Integration-transformation toward FCs	.16	.12	.001	
French language use	-.14	-.10	.006	
Desire for FC migrants	.13	.091	.01	
	Readiness to move to English province of Canada			$R^2 = 32\%$
	B	Beta	<i>p</i>	
Seeking a better career	.35	.38	.001	
English language skills & use	.38	.28	.001	
Desire for EC migrants	.17	.15	.001	
	Readiness to move to the US			$R^2 = 21\%$
	B	Beta	<i>p</i>	
Seeking a better career	.16	.20	.001	
Desire for EC migrants	.18	.17	.001	
Seeking cultural experience	.18	.21	.001	
English language skills & use	.13	.11	.004	
Integration-transformation toward ECs	.12	.10	.005	

CHAPITRE IV

ACCULTURATION AND PUSH-PULL FACTORS ACCOUNTING FOR WILLINGNESS TO MIGRATE INTERNALLY FROM QUEBEC

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ACCULTURATION AND PUSH-PULL FACTORS ACCOUNTING FOR
WILLINGNESS TO MIGRATE INTERNALLY FROM QUEBEC

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Abstract

Using the acculturation and ethnolinguistic vitality frameworks, this study examined economic and intercultural tensions as factors accounting for willingness to stay in Quebec or move out-of-province to the rest of Canada (ROC). The study was conducted using questionnaires that were completed by Quebec Francophone (QF; $n = 234$) and Quebec Anglophone (QA; $n = 205$) undergraduates attending French and English Universities in Montreal. Results showed that QA minority students were more willing to leave Quebec for the ROC than were majority QF undergraduates. For QFs, willingness to move to the ROC was predicted by pull factors including: seeking a better job, joining partner/family members, and non-mobilisation for Francophone vitality and everyday English use. For QAs, while pull factors were similar to QFs, the following push factors were more important: avoiding linguistic tensions, being victim of collective discrimination, endorsement of the separation acculturation orientation, and low French language skills. Predictors of QA willingness to stay in Quebec were: endorsement of the integration and individualism acculturation orientation, not perceiving English-French relations as zero-sum, and not feeling personally victim of discrimination. Results showed the importance of considering both economic and non-economic variables as factors predicting willingness for interprovincial migration in multicultural states like Canada.

Keywords: internal migration, ethnolinguistic vitality, acculturation orientations, discrimination, Quebec Anglophones/Francophones

4.1 Introduction

Migration theory posits that there are push/pull factors that help account for migration movements that may be caused by economic, political and cultural factors (Lee, 1966). Better jobs and salaries can be seen as 'pull factors', motivating individuals to migrate from low to high opportunity countries. 'Push factors' are adverse circumstances inciting individuals to move out of their country of origin and can include natural disasters, environmental degradation, widespread insecurity and corruption, political, ethnic and religious tensions, civil conflicts and war. Micro-economic models focus on the migration decision taken by individuals following financial, social and psychological cost-benefit analyses of staying vs. migrating to a another country (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, & Taylor, 1993). Readiness to migrate can also be situated within the Migration Change Model which posits that the migration process is made up of distinctive phases experienced by individuals considering a move from their country of origin to a country of settlement (Tabor & Milfont, 2011). The Migration Change Model proposes four phases accounting for the process of migration: 1) pre-contemplation, 2) contemplation, 3) action and 4) acculturation. Pre-contemplation is the phase where migration is considered in the context of social and family connections which predispose some individuals to be potential migrants. The contemplation phase is associated with the macro-societal and micro-issues considered by individuals as they formulate the cost-benefit components of their potential migration. The action phase begins with the decision to migrate and includes the actions undertaken to apply for immigrant status and actually move to the country of destination. Acculturation is the process of bicultural changes experienced by immigrants and host majority members as a result of their intercultural contacts in the country of settlement. This study focuses on the contemplation phase of the migration process.

Though the causes of international migrations have been well researched, less attention has been devoted to internal migration occurring between contrasting communities within the same national states. Cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious communities sharing a common citizenship are often concentrated in different geographical regions of a given country, each enjoying more or less political autonomy enshrined at the regional or provincial levels of a given state. Though belonging to the same national state has long been associated with the construction and enforcement of a common supra-national culture and language, such unifying pressures have not always suppressed the cultural, religious and linguistic identities of regional communities constituting most ethnically diverse societies. Researchers are increasingly interested in studying the internal migration processes across such societies located in China (Shen, 2013), the United-States (Molloy, Smith, & Wozniak, 2011) and Spain (Larranaga, Garcia, Azurmendi, & Bourhis, 2016), to name a few. In these countries, international and internal migration patterns can be complementary, reinforcing each other according to regional political, economic, ethnic, linguistic and religious cleavages.

4.1.1 Language laws in Canada and Quebec

The goal of the present study is to address issues of internal migration and acculturation processes in the linguistically divided Quebec setting, itself embedded within officially bilingual Canada. In Canada, tradition has it that individuals who have French as a mother tongue are labelled Francophones, while Anglophones are individuals who have English as a mother tongue. Allophones are Canadians who have a mother tongue other than French or English. For the sake of maintaining national unity, the Canadian federal government devoted substantial resources to maintain and develop the vitality of the Anglophone minority within Quebec and of

the Francophone minorities in English majority provinces in the rest of Canada (ROC) (Fraser, 2006). The Canadian federal parliament adopted the *Official Languages Act* in 1969 and the Canadian Constitution in 1981, enshrining English and French as co-official languages of Canada while providing federal services in both languages where numbers warranted.

From the 1970s onwards, language laws adopted by Quebec Governments improved the status of French relative to English, thus reflecting the position of Quebec Francophones (QF) as the dominant cultural majority in the Province. However such gains for the QF majority were achieved at the cost of eroding the community vitality of the Quebec Anglophone (QA) minority in Quebec (Bourhis, 2012). For federalist strategists, the demographic and institutional decline of Quebec Anglophones was a necessary price to pay for thwarting the Quebec separatist movement that undermined Canadian unity. However, the continuing decline of the QA minority in Quebec could eventually weaken the Federal government's bilingual nation-building policy which legitimises its support of both official languages across Canada. A public policy goal of this study is to better understand the economic and social psychological factors accounting for the willingness of QAs and QFs to either stay in Quebec or leave to an English majority province in the ROC with its implications for the linguistic territorialisation of Canada with Francophones in Quebec and Anglophones in the ROC.

While we assert the importance of individual motivations related to economic mobility and family reunification framed as 'pull factors', we propose that 'push factors' such as intercultural tensions may also contribute to interprovincial migration from Quebec to the ROC. To address such issues, we use the ethnolinguistic vitality framework to examine the demographic and institutional profile of the Francophone majority and Anglophone minority in Quebec. This vitality framework will be also used to briefly account for key historical events that shaped intercultural relations

between QFs and QAs as the 'two solitudes' in the province. Our understanding of QA and QF willingness to stay or leave Quebec can also be reinforced by considering how QAs wish to acculturate within the majority French Quebecois culture, while also considering how majority QFs wish to acculturate English Canadians who settle in Quebec from the ROC.

4.1.2 Ethnolinguistic vitality

Ethnolinguistic vitality relates to the strength of language communities within multicultural settings such as Canada, as determined by three broad dimensions of socio-structural variables: demography, institutional support and status (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). Demographic variables are related to the number of those who speak a particular language in a certain community, their proportion relative to other linguistic communities and their distribution throughout the regional or national territory. Demographic indicators of 'strength in numbers' can be used as a legitimizing tool for granting linguistic minorities the institutional support they need to maintain and transmit their language and culture across the generations. Institutional support is defined as the degree of control a linguistic community commands over the institutions, which are needed to ensure the development of their language and culture in majority group settings. Language minorities struggle to achieve the support needed to use their language within formal institutions such as education, health care, regional government, the military, the mass media and the economy. Institutional support promotes the use and transmission of the minority language and culture within the dominant majority setting. Maintaining demolinguistic strength and gaining institutional support is enhanced by gains in the social status of linguistic communities. Status variables include the socio-historical prestige of the minority language and culture regionally and nationally, the community's

cultural/economic status, as well as language laws recognizing the official status of minority languages.

4.1.3 Some historical and sociolinguistic realities in Quebec

Quebec Francophones (QFs) and Quebec Anglophones (QAs) have a dual status in Quebec: QFs constitute the dominant language majority within the province but remain a linguistic minority in Canada; QAs are a minority at the provincial level but constitute the linguistic majority at the national level. According to Statistics Canada (2011), the QF population increased in numbers from 4,860,400 (81%) in 1971 to 6,164,700 individuals (79%) in 2011. Among this QF population, the number of French-English bilingual people increased from 25% in 1971 to 39% in 2011. As a result of selective immigration controlled by the Quebec government, Allophones increased their share of the Quebec population, from 379,400 (6%) in 1971 to 1,003,500 (13%) in 2011. Within this Allophone population, French-English bilingualism increased from 33% in 1971 to 50% in 2011. The low birth rate and exodus of Anglophones to the ROC account for the absolute and percentage decline of the QA population, which dropped from 789,200 (13%) in 1971 to only 647,600 (8%) in 2011. Among this population, the rate of French-English bilingualism increased from 37% in 1971 to 69% in 2011.

Up to the 1960s, Quebec Francophones were an economically and socially disadvantaged majority who nevertheless succeeded in controlling their own distinctive French cultural, religious, educational, municipal and provincial public institutions within the province. As QFs became increasingly educated, secular, and wealthy following the modernisation of the 'Quiet Revolution', the French language emerged as the last symbol of Quebecois cultural identity (Bourhis, 2001). The first

separatist government, elected in 1976, adopted the Charter of the French language (Bill 101, 1977) designed to increase the status of French relative to English in all public and private institutions of the province including the business world (Corbeil, 2007). Though QFs succeeded in fully controlling the province's economy, public administration and most of its political, cultural and state institutions, nationalists nurtured a feeling of linguistic threat to French by highlighting the minority position of Francophones in Canada (23%) and North America (2%). Nationalists argued for Quebec separation from Canada as a necessary measure designed to ensure the linguistic and cultural ascendancy of the Francophone majority in an independent nation-state.

Quebec Anglophones (QAs) are a distinctive cultural minority with ancestral roots in Quebec dating back to the 18th century, while under British rule. QAs enjoyed the status of ruling elite with full institutional control of its own educational and health care system and strong cultural links to English Canada (Rudin, 1985). Its influence dropped following the ascendancy of the Francophone majority during the 'Quiet Revolution' of the 1960s. QAs were forced to redefine themselves as a declining language community forced to mobilise collectively to defend their rights as an historical minority in Quebec (Stevenson, 1999). Though QAs benefit from some protection as an official language minority at the federal level, the application of language laws such as Bill 101 contributed to the decrease in Anglophone community vitality on the demographic and institutional support fronts (Bourhis, 2012). QAs who stayed in Quebec remain strongly attached to English-Canadian culture supported by the overwhelming power of Anglo-American mass media, while a distinctive Anglo-Quebec minority culture also emerged, sustained by local English media and social networks (Rodgers, Needles, & Garber, 2012).

4.1.4 Acculturation orientations of minority/majority communities

The research addressing how immigrants acculturate and adapt within their country of settlement has been the focus of a much multidisciplinary research (Berry, 2006). The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) was designed to account for intercultural relations between international immigrants and members of host majorities in the host country (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Sénécal, 1997). Another goal of this study was to extend the IAM to the case of contrasting cultural communities who share a common citizenship within the same nation-state. In this study, we adapt the IAM to include the following components: a) acculturation orientations adopted by QAs toward the Francophone majority culture; b) acculturation orientations adopted by QF majority members toward ECs migrating from the ROC and settling in Quebec; and c) intercultural relations between QFs and QAs which may be harmonious, problematic, or conflictual.

No studies explored how Quebec born Anglophones (QA) wish to acculturate within the Francophone dominant majority culture. Pro-French language laws adopted by the Francophone majority during the last few decades have negatively affected QAs. As a minority, QAs can adopt any of five acculturation orientations depending on the strength of their desire to maintain their own heritage culture relative to their willingness to adopt the culture of the QF majority. The immigrant acculturation scale (IAS; Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989) was adapted for assessing the acculturation orientations of QA minority group members toward the Francophone majority culture. QAs who adopt the *integration* orientation wish to maintain key features of their own culture while adopting aspects of the QF majority culture. QAs who are *individualists* care little about their own culture or that of the QF majority as they are more concerned with their personal needs and aspirations. QAs who adopt the *assimilation* orientation are willing to relinquish their own cultural heritage for

the sake of adopting the culture of the dominant QF majority. In contrast, those who endorse the *separatist* orientation prefer to maintain their own culture while rejecting key aspects of the QF dominant culture. *Marginalization* characterizes QAs who feel estranged from both their own cultural heritage and that of the QF mainstream.

Few studies have examined how QF majority group members wish to acculturate English Canadians (ECs) who migrate to Quebec. As applied to the Quebec case, the IAM proposes that by virtue of their power advantage in their province, QF majority members may endorse six acculturation orientations about how EC migrants from the ROC should adapt within French Quebec. The three welcoming orientations are individualism, integrationism and integrationism-transformation. The three less welcoming orientations are assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism. These six majority acculturation orientations are measured using the Host Community Acculturation Scale adapted in this case for the Quebec setting, with regards to culture, values and customs (HCAS; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

The IAM also proposes that dominant host majorities may endorse different acculturation orientations toward minorities they consider “valued” or somewhat “devalued”. Studies carried out in Quebec have shown that Quebec Francophones (QF) were more individualist and integrationist toward ‘valued’ French immigrants from France than toward ‘devalued’ minority French speaking Arab Muslim immigrants (Bourhis, Barrette, & Moriconi, 2008). QF were also more assimilationist, segregationist and exclusionist toward Arab Muslim immigrants than toward immigrants from France. Acculturation orientations toward English-Canadian migrants settled in Quebec were ambivalent, situated between those endorsed toward French immigrants from France and Arab Muslim immigrants from North Africa (Bourhis et al., 2008).

Until now, studies based on the IAM have not tested perception of intergroup competition as a potential correlate of acculturation orientations. The Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (IMGC, Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998) suggests that perception of group competition for limited resources is related to negative attitudes toward international immigrants. Esses and colleagues found that host majority English Canadians in Ontario who endorsed 'zero-sum beliefs' perceived that immigrants were competing with them for scarce resources that were material (e.g. jobs, promotions, housing) and/or symbolic (e.g. culture, values, religion). Another study conducted with English-speaking citizens of Australia and Canada showed that zero-sum beliefs were linked to perception of immigrants as cheaters and with negative emotions toward them (Louis, Esses, & Lalonde, 2013). We adapted the Zero-Sum Belief Scale for internal migrants as a correlate of QA and QF willingness to themselves migrate interprovincially within Canada.

4.1.5 Hypotheses

Considering historical and vitality concerns outlined above, both QAs and QFs are likely to show a greater desire for migrants who share their respective linguistic background, whether they are from another province or country (H1a). We expect QFs to hold ambivalent attitudes toward ECs migrating to Quebec by endorsing integrationism and individualism but also segregationism, as EC migrants can be seen to bolster the vitality of the rival Anglophone minority rather than their own Francophone majority (H1b). We also expect QAs to be ambivalent about their choice of acculturation orientations toward mainstream Quebec French culture. QAs may endorse integrationism by virtue of the legitimacy of their status as an historical minority in the province. They may also endorse separation as a result of feeling less accepted and secure about their place in Quebec French society (Magnan, 2005) and

thus seek comfort and security by keeping within their own Anglophone minority community (H1c).

Given the various push/pull factors influencing interprovincial migration patterns described above, we expect QAs to be more willing than QFs to leave Quebec for the ROC and the USA (H2a). From group vitality and push/pull perspectives, QAs who consider leaving Quebec may do so to avoid living in a tense linguistic atmosphere where they feel discriminated against as minority Anglophones (linguicism), while a move to an English majority province of the ROC or to the USA provides a more secure linguistic majority setting (H2b). Conversely, QFs who stay in Quebec enjoy a dominant majority group position, while migration to the ROC or the USA entails a drop to a vulnerable minority position where the language of work is mostly English. Prevailing economic analysis nevertheless predicts that both QFs and QAs are more willing to migrate to the ROC or the USA if doing so significantly improves their individual career and financial prospects (H2c).

In this study of young QFs and QAs, a broad range of socio-psychological correlates are likely to predict willingness to: stay in Quebec; migrate internally to the ROC; or emigrate internationally to the USA. Correlates described in the *Method* section are: proficiency/use of French/English, degree of identification with a linguistic ingroup/outgroup, personal financial situation, desire to improve job prospects, desire to join family members/partners, perception of being personally and/or collectively victim of discrimination, endorsement of zero-sum beliefs, feeling threatened by the presence of linguistic outgroups, willingness to personally mobilise to improve ingroup vitality (ego-vitality), concerns with linguistic tensions in Quebec.

4.2 Method

4.2.1 Participants and procedure

All respondents were undergraduate students whose age ranged from 19 to 29 and were born and lived in Quebec. Quebec Francophone (QF) undergraduates had French as their mother tongue and attended the French medium Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). QFs were included in the study if both their parents were born in Canada and had knowledge of French. Quebec Anglophone (QA) undergraduates had English as their mother tongue and attended the English medium McGill University also in Montreal. QAs were included in the study if both their parents were born in Canada and had knowledge of English. The final sample was made up of 439 participants: 234 QFs and 205 QAs, of whom 320 were females and 117 were males.

Students were recruited among undergraduates in the social sciences and education faculties of UQAM (QF) and McGill University (QA). Participants completed the questionnaire in their mother tongue during class time, returned their questionnaires in the folder, and were debriefed in class.

4.2.2 Measures

All QF students answered the French questionnaire, while QA students answered the English questionnaire using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = totally disagree; 7 = totally agree). The French questionnaire was back translated into English.

The *Multiple Identification* scale (Bourhis & Bougie, 1998) with national and linguistic groups was measured specifically for QFs and QAs on the following items: “To what extent do you identify as”: Canadian, Québécois (QA: English Quebecer), Francophone, Anglophone, Montrealer, immigrant and as French/English bilingual. The four item *Quality of In-Group Identification* scale (Bourhis & Bougie, 1998) was assessed toward the Québécois ingroup for the Francophone sample and toward the 'English Quebecer' ingroup for the Anglophone sample. For example, the scale used for QFs included such items as: “I am happy to be a Québécois”; “My image of the Québécois is positive”; “I attribute great value to be a Québécois” (C. alpha = .86 for QFs; .91 for QAs).

The *Linguistic Skills* scale consisted of four items that assessed to what extent respondents understood and spoke French and English. The language competence internal reliability score using Cronbach's alpha ranged from .62 to .91 for French skills and .88 to .92 for English skills for QFs and QAs taken together. The *Language Use* scale was comprised of eight items that measured to what extent participants used French and English at home, with their friends, at work and at college/university. Considering scores obtained for QFs and QAs together, the language use scale had a reliability (C. alpha) that ranged from .80 to .81 for French and from .70 to .72 for English.

The *Personal Financial Situation* scale (Harvey & Bourhis, 2012) contained five statements concerning the present and anticipated financial situation of respondents as well as their job prospects in Quebec: e.g., “In the years to come, my chances of finding a well-paying job in Quebec are low”; “I think that my financial situation is quite promising in the years to come in Quebec”; “All things considered, I think that I have a good chances of building a good career in my area of training in Quebec” (C. alpha = .62 – .79 for QFs and QAs taken together).

The *Ego-Vitality Scale* (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) measured to what extent respondents were ready to act personally in order to improve the vitality of their own language community and that of the outgroup. This scale included mobilisation to improve seven vitality elements pertaining to demographic strength (2 items, e.g., “I want to help increase immigration of the following linguistic groups to my region of Quebec ”), institutional control (3 items, e.g., “I want to help improve the strength of the following language communities in my region of Quebec”) and status (2 items, e.g., “I want to act in order to increase the prestige and importance of the following linguistic communities in my region of Quebec.”). The C. alpha reliability obtained on this scale was .90 – .92 for ingroup vitality and .87-.93 for outgroup vitality.

The *Feeling of Security Scale* (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004) was measured in three domains, as follows: To what extent do you feel secure economically/culturally/linguistically as a Québécois for QFs and as an English Quebecer for QAs. A single threat item then measured the feeling that ingroup identity – as Québécois or English Quebecer – was threatened by the presence of ingroup and outgroups migrants. For Francophone respondents, Quebec Anglophones and English-Canadian migrants from the ROC were the only outgroups considered. For Anglophone respondents, there were three outgroups: French Québécois, French-speaking migrants from the ROC and Arab Muslim immigrants.

The adapted *Zero-Sum Belief Scale* measured the degree to which QF and QA respondents felt that the well-being of their respective linguistic communities was undermined by competition between the Quebec Francophone and Anglophone communities (Esses et al. 1998). This scale was composed of nine items, including positively and negatively coded statements adapted to the QF and QA respondents. QFs rated their agreement with items such as: “The more English-Canadian migrants there are, the more the Francophone community is threatened in Quebec”. QAs rated items such as: “English Quebecers already living here lose out when Québécois

French make political and economic gains in Quebec” The internal consistency (C. alpha) of the *Zero-Sum Belief Scale* was .82 among QFs and .87 for QAs.

Using the *Ethnic Thermometer Scale* (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993), respondents rated how favourably disposed they were toward members of their own linguistic group, their co-national linguistic outgroup, French-Canadian migrants, and French immigrants from France. Respondents also rated their disposition (attitude) toward English-Canadian migrants and English immigrants from India.

Preference for origin of immigrants was assessed by asking participants to express to what extent they would like immigrants to come from various regions, within and outside Canada. There were eight items for QF and QA respondents. For QFs, the target groups included the following: French-Canadian migrants from Ontario, from New Brunswick; Francophone immigrants from France; English-Canadian migrants from Ontario and New Brunswick; Anglophone immigrants from India. For Quebec Anglophones, the target groups included the following: French-Canadian migrants from Ontario and from New Brunswick; Francophone immigrants from France; English-Canadian migrants from Ontario and New Brunswick; Anglophone immigrants from India.

How QFs wish to integrate immigrants within their province can be as important as accepting them or not within Quebec. QFs completed the *Host Community Acculturation Scale* (HCAS; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001) adapted for internal migration in three private acculturation domains (culture, values and customs) regarding English-Canadian (EC) migrants from the ROC. The following are examples of HCAS items measuring each acculturation orientation in the cultural domain with internal consistency scores (C. alpha) in brackets. *Integrationism* (.80): “It would be best for English Canadians to maintain and preserve their own culture of origin while also adopting aspects of mainstream Québécois culture.” *Integrationism-*

transformation (.86): Québécois should transform certain aspects of their own culture in order to really integrate the culture of English-Canadian migrants.” *Individualism* (.84): “Whether English-Canadian migrants maintain their culture of origin or adopt mainstream Québécois culture makes no difference because each individual is free to adopt the culture of their choice.” *Assimilationism* (.80): “English-Canadian migrants should give up their culture of origin for the sake of adopting mainstream Québécois culture.” *Segregationism* (.87): “English-Canadian migrants can maintain their culture of origin as long as they do not mix it with mainstream Québécois culture.” *Exclusionism* (.89): “Québécois have no benefit to gain from the presence of English Canadians and their culture.”

As an historical minority in the province, Quebec Anglophones (QA) completed the *Immigrant Acculturation Scale* (IAS) adapted for the internal Quebec setting in the same acculturation domains: culture, values and customs. The Cronbach’s alpha obtained for each acculturation orientation is indicated in brackets. The following are examples of IAS items measuring each acculturation orientation in the cultural domain. *Integration* (.89): “I wish to maintain my English Quebecer cultural heritage and also adopt key features of Québécois French culture.” *Individualism* (.87): “I care little about my English Quebecer culture or Québécois French culture as it is my personal needs and aspirations which count most for me.” *Assimilation* (.77): “I wish to give-up my English Quebecer culture for the sake of adopting Québécois French culture.” *Separation* (.83): “I wish to maintain my English Quebecer cultural heritage rather than adopt Québécois French culture.” *Marginalization* (.72): “I do not wish to maintain my English Quebecer culture or adopt Québécois French culture as I feel uncomfortable with both cultures.”

Willingness to migrate and reasons for migration was assessed using the following three questions: how much would you be willing to live for most of your life in: 1) an Anglophone province of Canada; 2) French Acadia of New Brunswick (QF

respondents); a region of Canada where there are many French speakers (QA respondents); 3) the United-States. For QA respondents, there was an additional item: willingness to live in Quebec most of their life. QF and QA respondents then evaluated the importance of several reasons for migration to English-Canada. The Stelzl & Esses (2007) scale, created for international migration, was adapted for interprovincial migration. Key items for this 12-item scale were: "To get a better job"; "To study"; "To get married or be close to my partner"; "To stop living in a linguistic minority situation"; "To avoid being judged because I am an English-speaking Quebecer"; "To leave behind linguistic tensions"; "To be able to work in English"; "For adventure".

The *Perception of Personal Discrimination* scale monitored the extent to which participants felt they were victims of discrimination: "To what extent have you been personally victim of discrimination: in your work setting; in stores/banks/restaurants; at school/university?" (Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, & Jantzen, 2007) (C. alpha = .57 – .75 combining QFs and QAs). Respondents then rated each of the following possible causes of personal discrimination: "In the last five years, for what reason (s) do you think you were a victim of discrimination? Was it because of your: ethnic/cultural belonging; race/skin color; mother tongue/accent?"

The *Perceived Collective Discrimination* scale was used to evaluate the extent to which respondents thought ingroup and outgroup members suffered from collective discrimination in three key settings: at work; in stores/banks/restaurants; in school/at university (Taylor, Wrights, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990). Target group were Quebec Francophones, Quebec Anglophones, and English-Canadian migrants from the ROC. An example of a collective discrimination item is: "To what extent do you believe that the following groups experience discrimination in their work setting?" Combining scores for QF and QA respondents across all settings, the C. alpha

reliability of this scale was .80 – .82 for the ingroup, from .76 – .86 for the conational outgroup and .78 for ECs.

4.3 Results

Unless otherwise stated, Repeated Measures (RM) ANOVAs or *t*-tests were conducted to compare QA and QF respondents on the various scales and social-psychological correlates used in the questionnaire. Means which are not found in Table 4.1 or Figure 4.1 are embedded in the text.

4.3.1 Social-psychological profile of QF and QA respondents

As majority group members in Quebec, QFs identified twice as much as Francophones ($M = 6.8$) and Québécois ($M = 6.7$) than as Canadians ($M = 4.4$) and bilinguals ($M = 4.3$), and identified very little as Anglophones ($M = 2.0$) ($F(2.8) = 552.72, p < .01$). In contrast, QAs identified most as Canadian ($M = 6.5$), followed closely as bilingual ($M = 5.7$) and as English Quebecers ($M = 5.6$), while identifying little as Québécois ($M = 3.0$) and least as French Quebecers ($M = 1.6$) ($F(2.0) = 475.8, p < .01$).

Quality of identity was very high and did not differ between QF and QA respondents ($M = 6.0$). Both groups reported high first language (L1) skills ($M = 7.0$) and usage (QF: $M = 6.8$, QA: $M = 6.0$) relative to their second language (L2). However, QAs reported stronger L2 (French) language skills ($M = 5.8$) and usage in their everyday life ($M = 3.6$) than did QFs regarding their L2 English skills ($M = 5.2$) ($t(347) = 5.05$,

$p < .01$) and their use of English ($M = 2.2$) ($t(363.04) = 10.97, p < .001$). Thus, as a linguistic minority, QAs were more bilingual and used their second language more than majority QFs. Quebec Francophones and Anglophones were more willing to mobilise to improve the vitality of their own group language community (QF: $M = 5.6$; QA: $M = 5.8$) than that of the outgroup community (QF: $M = 3.2$, QA: $M = 3.7$). Reflecting the socio-economic ascendancy of the Francophone majority, results showed that QFs perceived to have more positive financial/career prospects in Quebec ($M = 5.2$) than QA minority respondents ($M = 4.1$) ($t(347) = 9.26, p < .01$).

4.3.2 Desire for migrants and acculturation orientations

Supporting hypothesis H1a, QF and QA respondents expressed a stronger preference for migrants who shared their respective ingroup linguistic background than those seen as linguistic outgroups. As seen in Table 4.1, this favouritism for linguistic ingroup migrants emerged whether or not these migrants were from Canada or from other countries of the world speaking their own language. However, as seen in Table 4.1, when it came to both internal and international immigrants, this ingroup favouritism was less pronounced among QAs than among QFs: QAs desired French-speakers more than QFs desired English-speakers.

How did QFs wish English-Canadian migrants from the ROC to acculturate within the Quebecois Francophone majority culture? As seen in Figure 4.1, HCAS scale results showed that QFs endorsed integrationism most strongly toward EC migrants, followed by individualism, while moderately endorsing segregationism toward EC migrants, thus supporting hypothesis H1b ($F(3.2) = 386.66, p < .01$). QFs only weakly endorsed assimilationism and exclusionism toward EC migrants. As seen in Figure 4.1, results showed that QA minority respondents adopted most strongly the

separation orientation followed by integrationism, which supports Hypothesis H1c. QAs only weakly endorsed individualism, marginalisation and assimilationism.

4.3.3 Social-psychological correlates

Corroborating the classic ingroup favouritism effect, Table 4.1 shows that QF ($M = 89.7$) and QA ($M = 91.2$) respondents held more favourable attitudes toward members of their own group than toward all other outgroups on the 100-point *Ethnic Thermometer Scale*. QFs also rated FC migrants from the ROC and immigrants from France more favourably than did QA respondents. Table 4.1 also shows that QAs rated EC migrants from the ROC more favourably than FC migrants from the ROC and immigrants from India and France. QAs also rated EC migrants from the ROC and Indian immigrants more favourably than did QF respondents. It is noteworthy that QAs rated FC migrants from the ROC more favourably than QFs living in Quebec ($t(438) = 3.33, p < .01$), while QFs rated out-of-province EC migrants to Quebec as favourably as local minority group Quebec Anglophones.

QFs felt moderately threatened by the presence of local minority QAs ($M = 3.6$) and EC migrants from the ROC ($M = 3.6$), while feeling no threat from the presence of their own group QF members ($M = 1.5$). QA minority group members felt more threatened by the presence of local QF majority group members ($M = 4.4$) than by the presence of minority Arab Muslim immigrants ($M = 2.4$) and minority FC migrants ($M = 2.1$) ($F(3,2) = 128.20, p < .01$). QAs felt no threat from the presence of EC migrants from the ROC ($M = 1.5$) or from the presence of own group QA members ($M = 1.4$). Moreover, though QF and QA respondents felt equally secure economically ($M = 5.1$) and culturally ($M = 4.5$), it was QF majority group respondents who felt less secure linguistically (QF: $M = 3.7$) than did minority group

QAs ($M = 4.2$) [(2 (group) \times 3 (security) ANOVA interaction effect: $F(2,437) = 6.51$, $p < .01$]. While endorsement of zero-sum beliefs was moderately high for both groups, it was stronger for QAs ($M = 4.4$) than for QFs ($M = 3.5$) ($t(437) = 7.49$, $p < .01$).

QF majority group respondents experienced very little personal discrimination ($M = 1.6$) compared to QA respondents ($M = 2.5$) ($t(306.48) = 7.96$, $p < .01$). Though both participant groups did not perceive to be victims of personal discrimination because of their race (QF: $M = 1.2$; QA: $M = 1.3$), QAs felt more discriminated against than QFs due to their ethnic belonging (QA: $M = 2.5$, QF: $M = 1.2$; ($t(324.86) = 5.80$, $p < .01$) and because of their mother tongue and accent ($M = 4.2$) compared to QFs ($M = 2.4$; $t(390.94) = 8.77$, $p < .01$).

Regarding collective discrimination, QF majority group respondents perceived that EC migrants from the ROC ($M = 3.1$) and QA minority group members ($M = 2.8$) suffer from collective discrimination more than members of their own group ($M = 2.3$) ($F(1.47) = 40.23$, $p < .001$). QA minority group respondents perceived their own group ($M = 4.2$) and EC migrants from the ROC ($M = 4.2$) to experience more discrimination than QFs ($M = 2.2$) ($F(1.27) = 289.10$, $p < .001$).

4.3.4 Willingness to leave Quebec and reasons for moving to the ROC or staying in Quebec

Though QAs were willing to stay in Quebec ($M = 4.8$), they were also willing to leave for an English Province of the ROC ($M = 5.1$). However, QAs were significantly less ready to move to a French region of the ROC ($M = 3.8$) and least willing to move to the USA ($M = 3.0$) ($F(3.0) = 51.79$, $p < .01$). Supporting

hypothesis H2a, QAs were more willing than QFs to move out of Quebec. Francophones were even less willing to move to the French region of New-Brunswick ($M = 2.3$) than to move to Anglophone provinces of the ROC ($M = 2.7$) or to the USA ($M = 2.6$) ($F(1.8) = 4.46, p < .05$), reflecting their satisfaction with staying in their own French majority province.

Separate factor analyses¹ for QF and QA respondents were conducted on items of the newly adapted *reasons for emigration* scale in order to identify clusters of items which best captured reasons for each group to move to English provinces of the ROC. For QFs, the principal component analysis (varimax rotation) revealed four orthogonal factors for moving to the ROC: *Career prospects*, *Boost English skills*, *Intergroup tensions* and *Joining family*. *Career prospects* included items such as: “To get a better job”, “To study”, “To seek a better professional career”. The *Boost English skills* factor included items such as “To improve my English skills”, “To be part of an Anglophone majority community” and “To speak English in the workplace.” The three items comprising the *Intergroup tensions* factor were: “To leave behind linguistic tensions in Quebec”, “To avoid being judged because I am a Francophone”, and “For the experience of living in an English majority culture.” The *Joining Family* factor included the following items: “To join my family”, “To get married or be close to my partner.” QFs rated *Joining family* ($M = 4.7$) as most important, followed by *Career prospects* ($M = 4.0$), *Boost English skills* ($M = 3.5$) and least important was to avoid *Intergroup tensions* ($M = 1.3$) ($F(2.6) = 308.15, p < .001$).

For QAs, four orthogonal factors emerged from the reason for emigration scale accounting for willingness to move to the ROC: *Career prospects*, *Intergroup*

1 Please contact first author for detailed results of factor analyses

tensions, *Joining family* and *Self-development*. The *Career prospects* factor included the item: "To get a better job." The *Intergroup tensions* factor included eight items: "To avoid being judged because I am an English-speaking Quebecer", "To leave behind linguistic tensions in Quebec", "To stop being in a linguistic minority situation", "For the experience of living in an English majority culture", "To get better access to health care in English", "To be able to work in English", "To get better access to English schooling for myself and/or my children", and "To pay lower taxes." The *Family* factor was made up of two items: "To join my family" and "To get married or be close to my partner". The fourth factor *Self-development* grouped the following three items: "For adventure", "To study", and "To improve my English skills." QAs rated *Career prospects* ($M=5.0$) as the most important reason for moving to the ROC, followed by *Intergroup tensions* ($M = 4.1$); least important reasons were *Joining family* ($M = 3.5$) and *Self-development* ($M = 3.2$) ($F(2.5) = 49.50, p < .001$).

Which of the above reasons for migration best predicted QF and QA respondents' willingness to stay in Quebec or move to the ROC? In the case of QFs, we conducted one multiple regression (stepwise) testing each of the four orthogonal factors (IVs) as predictors of willingness to move to the ROC. For QAs, we conducted two multiple regressions (stepwise) testing each of the three orthogonal factors as predictors of 1) willingness to stay in Quebec and 2) willingness to move to an English province of the ROC. Note that IVs that were not significantly correlated with the DVs were not entered in the regressions.

As seen in Table 4.2.1, results obtained on the reason for migration scale factors entered in the multiple regression analysis with QF respondents showed that seeking better *Career prospects* predicted willingness to move to an English region of the ROC, while the other factors (*Boost English skills*, avoid *Intergroup tensions* and *Joining Family*) did not.

Supporting hypothesis H2b, results obtained with QAs did show that predictors for willingness to move to the ROC were mainly to avoid *Linguistic tensions* and to seek better *Career prospects*, while seeking *Self-development* was not a predictor. A second multiple regression analysis showed that three factors predicted QA willingness to stay in Quebec: **not** being concerned with *Linguistic tensions* in Quebec, staying for the sake of *Staying with family* in Quebec and **not** being concerned with *Career prospects*.

In the next multiple regression analyses (stepwise), we entered our *social-psychological correlates* as possible predictors of QF and then QA willingness to move to an English region of the ROC. Table 4.2.2 shows that QF willingness to move to the ROC was predicted by the following three social-psychological correlates: frequent *English use*, not being personally mobilised to improve ingroup Francophone vitality (*ego-vitality*), and *Anglophone identity*.

Which social-psychological correlates presented in Table 4.2.2 best predicted QA willingness to leave Quebec? Supporting hypothesis H2b, the following four variables were reliable predictors: perceiving that QAs are victims of *collective discrimination* in Quebec; being personally mobilised to improve ingroup QA vitality (*ego vitality*); endorsement of the *separation acculturation orientation*; weak *French language skills*. A third multiple regression analysis (stepwise) in Table 4.2.2 showed the following four social-psychological correlates as predictors of QA willingness to stay in Quebec: **not** endorsing *zero-sum beliefs*; endorsement of the *integration acculturation orientation*; **not** feeling that one is *personally victim of discrimination*; and **not** endorsing *individualism*.

4.4 Discussion

Results showed that as the dominant majority in their province, Quebec Francophones identified twice as much as Québécois than as Canadian, used three times more French than English in their everyday life and did not feel they were personally or collectively victims of discrimination. They were optimistic about their career and financial prospects in Quebec and were not interested in moving out of their province other than for pull factors such as joining a partner/family member, and improving both their English skills and career prospects. Despite their dominant majority position in their province, QFs felt less secure linguistically than did QA minority group members, felt somewhat threatened by the presence of both Quebec Anglophones and EC migrants, rated all Anglophone outgroups less favourably than Francophone groups and were highly motivated to improve the vitality of their own Francophone community.

Results showed that as a declining minority, Quebec Anglophones identified very much as Canadians, bilinguals and English Quebecers and little as Québécois. Though QAs used more English than French in their everyday life, they reported using more French as their second language than QFs reported using English as their second language. Importantly, QAs were as willing as QFs to mobilise in favour of improving their own group vitality. However, QAs felt they more discriminated against in their personal life than did QFs and felt this discrimination was mainly because of their mother tongue and accent (linguicism) rather than their ethno-cultural background. QAs also felt they were victims of collective discrimination and were less optimistic about their career and financial prospects in Quebec. While QAs felt more secure linguistically than QFs, they did feel more threatened by the presence of the QF majority than by the presence of Arab Muslim immigrants or that of FC migrants from the ROC.

Supporting hypothesis H1a, QFs rated members of all Francophone groups more favourably than Anglophone groups, a pattern of ingroup favouritism also obtained with QA respondents who also favoured members of all Anglophone groups regardless of country of origin. Also, both QFs and QAs also preferred migrants – whether interprovincial or international – belonging to their linguistic ingroup relative to those of the outgroup.

As posited in hypothesis H1b, QFs were ambivalent in their acculturation orientations toward EC migrants despite their common citizenship as Canadians. QFs endorsed integrationism and individualism toward EC migrants to Quebec while also endorsing segregationism toward them. QAs endorsed both the separation and integration orientations, reflecting their less secure and more ambivalent position within Quebec, thus providing support for hypothesis H1c. Based on the IAM framework, minorities who feel less accepted by the dominant majority are more likely to endorse separation, as this orientation provides the security of staying within the ingroup minority community, thus reducing strained contacts with members of the dominant majority. Our correlation analyses showed that the more QAs experienced personal discrimination, the more they adopted the separation orientation ($r = .32, p < .01$). Likewise, the more QAs felt discriminated because of their mother tongue/accents (linguicism), the more likely they were to endorse the separation orientation ($r = .31, p < .01$). As concerns the endorsement of integration, the less QAs experienced being personally discriminated against, the more likely they were to adopt integrationism ($r = -.22, p < .01$). Based on the IAM, feeling of threat by the presence of outgroups is an important correlate of acculturation orientations. The more QAs felt threatened by QFs, the less they endorsed integration ($r = -.36, p < .01$) and the more they endorsed separation ($r = .30, p < .01$). Similarly, the more QFs felt threatened by QAs and ECs, the more likely they were to adopt segregationism ($r = .28, p < .01$), and the less likely they were to adopt integrationism ($r = -.20, p < .01$) and individualism

($r = -.25, p < .01$). Taken together, these results provide converging support for hypothesis H1c, despite the fact that Quebec Francophones and Anglophones share a common legal citizenship as Canadians.

What factors predicted QF and QA willingness to leave Quebec? The results of multiple regression analyses supported hypothesis H2c by showing that pull factors related to seeking better individual career prospects predicted QF willingness to move to the ROC more so than for QAs. For Quebec Francophones, regular use of English and Anglophone identity emerged as reliable predictors of willingness to move to the ROC. Furthermore, QFs willing to emigrate were also *less* concerned with mobilisation to improve Francophone vitality in Quebec. For Quebec Francophones, interprovincial migration thus appears to reflect positive views of biculturalism as well as the pursuit of personal growth and career goals. We saw that correlates related to intercultural tensions – namely, zero-sum beliefs, feeling threatened by the presence of Anglophones and segregationism toward ECs – did *not* account for QF willingness to move to the ROC.

In contrast, factors that emerged as reliable predictors of QA willingness to stay or leave Quebec were more related to intercultural tensions than seeking better career prospects. For QAs, push factors arising from intercultural tensions best accounted for willingness to move out of Quebec, thus supporting hypothesis H2b. Important social-psychological predictors included the perception that Francophone majority gains are won at the cost of Anglophone minority losses (zero-sum beliefs) and that that QAs are personally and collectively victims of discrimination. Thus, intercultural push factors are consistent with studies highlighting that many Quebec Anglophones do not feel fully accepted by the Quebec Francophone majority and no longer feel at home in their province. Interestingly, links were also drawn with the way QAs wish to acculturate within mainstream Quebec culture with integrationism predicting their willingness to live in Quebec, and with separation predicting willingness to move to

the ROC. Results indicating QA endorsement of the individualism orientation as predictive of *lower* willingness to stay in Quebec suggest that leaving Quebec can be an individualistic exit strategy prompted by an uncomfortable intercultural setting.

It is noteworthy that for QAs, the desire to mobilise to maintain or improve Anglophone vitality predicted their willingness to move to majority English regions of Canada. Could it be that QAs, as a declining minority, do not envision the possibility of enhancing the vitality of their own community by staying in their own province? Joining majority English Canadians outside Quebec allows QAs to contribute to their own majority vitality as fellow Canadians in the ROC. QAs did identify more strongly as Canadians, a majority group, perhaps a more comforting option than identifying as English Quebecers, a fragile minority group. Also, QAs' desire to mobilise in favour of Quebec Francophone vitality was strongly correlated with willingness to stay in Quebec ($r = .37, p < .01$), suggesting that QAs who wish to remain in their home province also wish to actively contribute to the development of mainstream Quebec French society. However, QAs' willingness to stay in Quebec depends in part on their potential to be accepted by the Quebec Francophone majority not only as individuals but also as group members with their own vitality needs on the demographic, institutional support and status fronts. Future studies focused on QA and QF community vitality issues could better test the validity of these interpretations.

Meanwhile, the enduring stereotype about the Anglophones of Quebec is that they constitute a pampered minority whose economic clout is such that federal or provincial support for the maintenance of its historical institutions is hardly necessary (Bourhis, 2012). This view of the privileged status of Quebec Anglophones is widely held not only by the Francophone majority of Quebec but also by many leaders of Francophone communities across Canada. Perhaps these perceptions are rooted in historical representations, which must be considered, as not only do they link to the

construction of collective identities but they also shape intercultural relations between majorities and minorities. A recent ten-year qualitative study of historical consciousness among QF and QA high school and University students showed that while QFs emphasized their Quebec nation, people and identity, QAs highlighted diversity, plurality and their mixed Canadian/European heritage (Létourneau, 2014).

This Quebec case study showed the importance of intercultural tensions, acculturation orientations and vitality mobilisations as predictors of willingness to migrate internally. Future research combining both economic and intercultural parameters is needed to better understand intra-national migration especially in multilingual/multicultural societies. Economists researching migration issues have seldom measured sociocultural factors and often asserted that economic factors such as employment and pay differentials fully accounted for intra-national and international migration. All things considered, the current study offers a novel approach by considering ethnolinguistic vitality and acculturation as complimentary processes on which to base our understanding of stay or leave decisions for intra-national and international migration.

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Table 4.1 Quebec Francophone (n = 234) and Anglophone (n = 205) desire for internal / international migrants and ethnic attitudes

	Quebec Francophones		Quebec Anglophones		Main effects		Interaction effect	
	n = 234	M	n = 205	M	Within-subject	Participant group	Participant group	Participant group
					<i>F</i> , <i>df</i> , η^2	<i>F</i> , <i>df</i> , η^2	<i>F</i> , <i>df</i> , η^2	<i>F</i> , <i>df</i> , η^2
Desire for :					11.93***, 2.0, .020	25.47***, 1, .054	141.79***, 2.0, .24	
French Canadian migrants from ROC	5.1 _a		4.7 _b					
English Canadian migrants from ROC	3.9 _b		5.3 _a					
Immigrants from French-speaking countries	5.2 _a		4.4 _b					
Immigrants from English-speaking countries	3.6 _b		5.4 _a					
Ethnic attitudes : Thermometer 100 pt scale					39.72***, 4.2, .073	4.12*, 1, .01	63.38***, 4.2, .12	
Quebec linguistic outgroup	64.8 _a		65.9 _a					
French Canadian migrants from ROC	75.6 _a		70.4 _b					
English Canadian migrants from ROC	64.2 _b		80.6 _a					
Immigrants from France	75.4 _a		67.5 _b					
Immigrants from India	57.2 _b		70.5 _a					

Note. For Quebec Francophones, the Quebec linguistic outgroup is Quebec Anglophones; for Quebec Anglophones, the Quebec linguistic outgroup is Quebec Francophones. ROC: Rest of Canada. Repeated measure ANOVAs, *F* tests represent a significant effect at $p < .01^{**}$, $p < .001^{***}$. Mean scores on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at $p < .01$ (a > b)

Table 4.2.1 Regressions testing migration reasons as predictors of willingness to stay in Quebec or to move to an English region/province of rest of Canada (ROC)

	Willingness to move to an English region ROC			$R^2 = 15.4\%$
	B	Beta	<i>p</i>	
Quebec Francophones (n = 234)				
Career prospects	.38	.29	.001	
Quebec Anglophones (n = 205)				$R^2 = 43.5\%$
Linguistic tensions	.45	.43	.001	
Career prospects	.29	.33	.001	
	Willingness to stay in Quebec			$R^2 = 28.6\%$
	B	Beta	<i>p</i>	
Quebec Anglophones (n = 205)				
Linguistic tensions	-.44	-.39	.001	
Join family/partner	.25	.28	.001	
Career prospects	-.18	-.19	.01	

Note. B: unstandardized weight beta; Beta: standardized beta weight; R^2 = total variance explained

Table 4.2.2 Regressions testing socio-psychological correlates as predictors of willingness to stay in Quebec or to move to an English region/province of rest of Canada (ROC)

Quebec Francophones (n = 234)	Willingness to move to an English region ROC			$R^2 = 25.8\%$
	B	Beta	p	
Ego-vitality (difference score)	-.25	-.29	.001	
English skills/use	.32	.22	.001	
Anglophone identity	.20	.17	.006	
Quebec Anglophones (n = 205)	B	Beta	p	$R^2 = 29.4\%$
Victim of collective discrimination	.32	.25	.001	
Ego-vitality (difference score)	.22	.22	.002	
Separation acculturation orientation	.20	.19	<.001	
Reported French skills	-.20	-.13	.045	
Quebec Anglophones (n = 205)	Willingness to stay in Quebec			$R^2 = 36.5\%$
	B	Beta	p	
Integration acculturation orientation	.33	.28	.001	
Zero-sum beliefs	-.44	-.26	.001	
Personally victim of discrimination	-.29	-.21	.001	
Individualism acculturation orientation	-.26	-.19	.001	

Note. Difference score for ego-vitality = (ingroup ego-vitality) – (outgroup ego-vitality)

B: unstandardized weight beta; Beta: standardized beta weight

R^2 = total variance explained

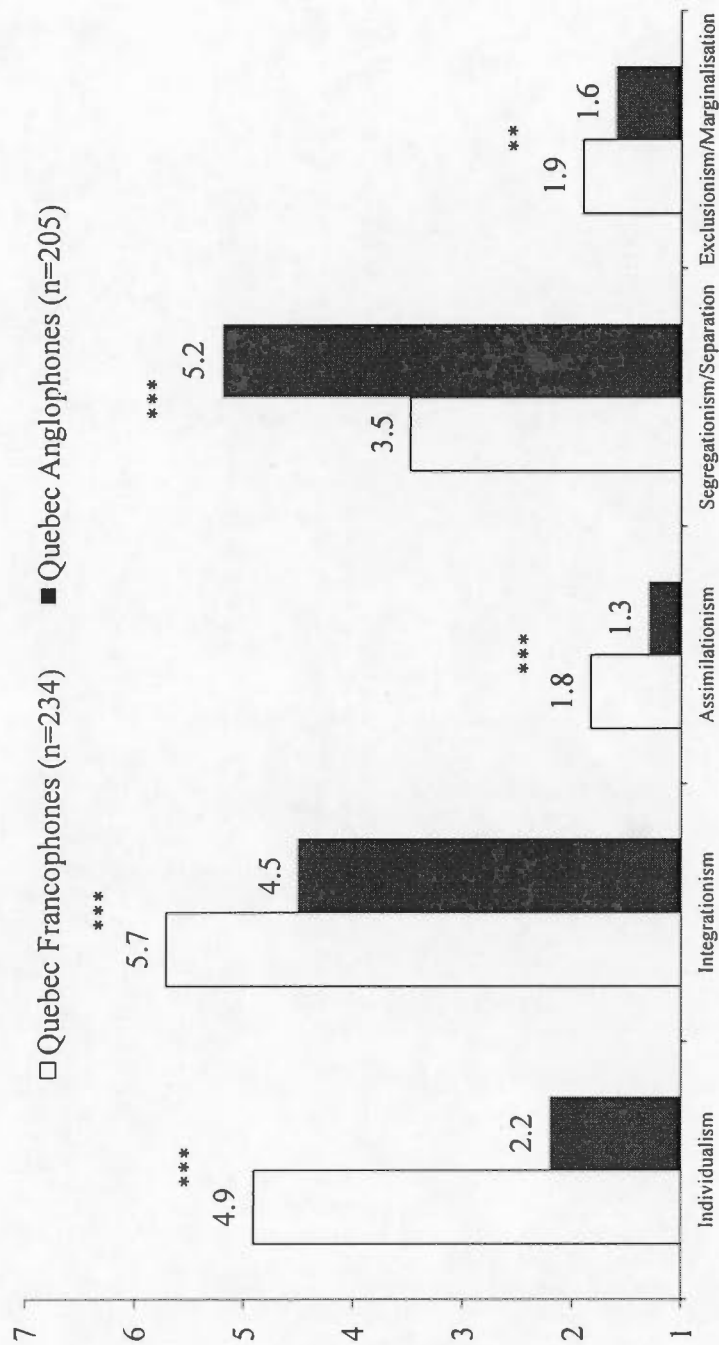


Figure 4.1 Quebec Francophone (n = 234) acculturation orientations using HCAS scale & Quebec Anglophone (n = 205) acculturation orientations using IAS scale

Post-hoc independent sample *t*-tests, comparing Quebec Francophone and Quebec Anglophone endorsement of each acculturation orientation: significant difference at ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

CHAPITRE V

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE

Dans ce chapitre, nous présentons d'abord une synthèse et discussion des études 1 et 2, qui comparent les groupes de répondants francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick, du Québec et de l'Ontario. Nous discutons aussi les résultats de l'étude 3 effectuée auprès des anglophones et francophones du Québec. Pour finir, nous examinons les implications théoriques de la thèse, les implications pour la politique publique du bilinguisme canadien, les limites de la recherche, et les recherches futures.

5.1 Synthèse des résultats des articles 1 et 2:

Vitality and ethnolinguistic attitudes of Acadians, Franco-Ontarians and Francophone Quebecers: Two or three solitudes in Canada's bilingual belt? / Push-Pull factors accounting for interprovincial migration in Canada's bilingual belt

5.1.1 Profil socio-psychologique des répondants francophones

Dans les études 1 et 2, les trois groupes de francophones s'identifiaient fortement et positivement à leur endogroupe provincial respectif en tant que francophones, et déclaraient avoir de fortes habiletés en français. Alors que les Acadiens et Franco-Ontariens s'identifiaient aussi fortement à leur endogroupe provincial qu'à leur nationalité canadienne, les Québécois francophones s'identifiaient beaucoup plus comme Québécois que Canadiens. Comparés aux Acadiens et aux Québécois francophones, les Franco-Ontariens, qui avaient la plus forte identité bilingue, utilisaient l'anglais le plus et le maîtrisaient le mieux parmi les trois groupes, et avaient des contacts plus réguliers avec des Ontariens anglophones. Les Québécois francophones étaient les moins 'bilingues', que ce soit en terme de leur identité,

compétence/usage de l'anglais et contacts avec des anglophones du Québec. Les Acadiens occupaient une position intermédiaire sur ces trois indicateurs. De plus, bien que tous les participants francophones aient exprimé une volonté de se mobiliser surtout en faveur de la vitalité francophone plutôt qu'anglophone, les Franco-Ontariens avaient une tendance à se mobiliser un peu plus pour l'exogroupe anglophone comparés aux Acadiens et Québécois francophones.

Les répondants francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick, du Québec et de l'Ontario ont révélé une préférence pour les migrants francophones plutôt qu'anglophones, qu'ils soient interprovinciaux (CF) ou internationaux (Afrique). Les trois groupes se sentaient davantage en sécurité sur le plan économique que linguistique. Les francophones des trois milieux ont exprimé un plus fort sentiment de menace identitaire en présence de l'exogroupe anglophone qu'envers les francophones interprovinciaux ou africains. Dans les trois milieux, l'endogroupe local francophone était perçu comme contribuant le plus à la vitalité francophone provinciale, suivi des migrants CF du RDC. Systématiquement, les migrants CA du RDC étaient perçus comme contribuant le moins à la vitalité des francophones des trois provinces de la zone bilingue.

Ayant combiné les trois groupes de participants francophones ($n = 658$), les analyses de corrélation présentées dans l'étude 1 démontrent que plus les francophones se sentaient menacés par les CA, plus ils résistaient leur migration, et plus ils percevaient les relations entre francophones et anglophones comme étant une compétition à somme-nulle (*zero-sum*). Par ailleurs, plus les francophones endossaient les croyances à somme-nulle, moins ils désiraient accueillir les migrants CA. Cependant, plus les francophones percevaient les migrants CA comme contributeurs à la vitalité de leur communauté francophone locale, plus ils étaient favorables à leur migration. Nos tests de médiation (voir Chapitre II) ont révélé que

l'adhérence aux croyances à somme-nulle et la perception des migrants CA comme faibles contributeurs à la vitalité francophone constituent deux facteurs sous-tendant la relation entre le sentiment de menace identitaire en présence des CA et l'attitude défavorable envers les migrants CA. Ces résultats font ressortir le lien, illustré dans de précédentes études, entre le sentiment de menace identitaire et les croyances de compétitions intergroupes à somme-nulle (Esses et al., 1998). Chez nos répondants francophones, ces liens suggèrent que les croyances à somme-nulle des relations concurrentielles entre les communautés francophones et anglophones peuvent expliquer les attitudes négatives envers les migrants CA. Ces résultats soutiennent le modèle du *Instrumental Model of Group Conflict* dans un contexte de migration intranationale, confirmant ainsi les résultats obtenus en Ontario chez les membres de la majorité anglophone à l'égard des immigrants internationaux (Esses et al., 1998).

5.1.2 Volonté d'émigrer et motivations

Les Québécois francophones majoritaires étaient les plus optimistes quant à leurs perspectives d'emploi et de carrière dans leur province d'origine, suivis des minoritaires Franco-Ontariens et Acadiens. La volonté d'émigrer vers une région/province francophone, une province anglophone ou vers les États-Unis était faible pour les trois groupes de francophones. Les Franco-Ontariens et les Acadiens n'étaient pas plus prêts à déménager au Québec majoritairement francophone que dans une autre province majoritairement anglophone. Les majoritaires Québécois francophones étaient très peu intéressés par l'émigration mais lorsqu'ils envisageaient cette option, ils considéraient autant les États-Unis que le Canada-anglais comme destination éventuelle.

En considérant l'ensemble des trois groupes de répondants francophones ($n = 658$) de l'étude 2, nous avons testé à l'aide de régressions multiples une série de corrélats socio-psychologiques (variables indépendantes) comme prédicteurs de la volonté d'émigrer vers les destinations suivantes : 1) une région ou province francophone; 2) une province anglophone; et 3) les États-Unis (variables dépendantes). En ce qui concerne la volonté des répondants francophones d'émigrer vers une région/province francophone, les variables en ordre décroissant d'importance étaient les suivantes (significativement prédictives) : poursuite d'une meilleure carrière, fuite des tensions linguistiques dans sa province d'origine, endossement de l'intégrationnisme de transformation envers les migrants CF, usage soutenu du français et désir de recevoir des migrants CF. En ordre décroissant d'importance les variables suivantes prédisaient la volonté d'émigrer vers une province anglophone : poursuite d'une meilleure carrière, compétence et usage soutenu de l'anglais et attitude favorable à l'arrivée des migrants CA. Toujours en ordre d'importance décroissante, les variables suivantes prédisaient la volonté des francophones d'émigrer aux États-Unis : poursuite d'une meilleure carrière, compétence et usage soutenu de l'anglais, expérience culturelle en anglais, attitude favorable à l'arrivée des migrants CA dans leur province, et endossement de l'orientation d'acculturation intégrationniste de transformation envers les migrants CA qui s'établissent dans leur province.

5.2 Synthèse des résultats de l'article 3 :

Acculturation and intergroup attitudes accounting for willingness of Francophones and Anglophones to leave Quebec

En ce qui a trait au profil identitaire, l'étude 3 révèle que les Québécois francophones s'identifiaient beaucoup plus comme francophones et Québécois que comme

Canadiens alors que les Québécois anglophones s'identifiaient très fortement comme Canadiens et fortement comme « English Quebecer » et bilingue, mais très peu comme « Québécois ». Les Québécois anglophones ont rapporté un plus haut niveau d'habileté et d'usage de leur seconde langue (L2 : français) que les francophones (L2 : anglais). Les deux groupes étaient plus motivés à se mobiliser pour la vitalité de leur endogroupe linguistique que pour celle de l'exogroupe. Les Québécois francophones se sentaient modérément menacés par la présence de migrants CA et de Québécois anglophones. Pour les répondants québécois anglophones, ce sont les Québécois francophones qui suscitaient la plus grande menace identitaire, même plus élevée que la menace suscitée par les migrants CF du RDC et les immigrants arabes musulmans. Bien que largement majoritaires dans la province, les Québécois francophones se sentaient moins en sécurité linguistique que les minoritaires québécois anglophones. Pour ce qui est des relations entre la majorité francophone et la minorité anglophone les répondants québécois anglophones se sont révélés comme étant plus polarisés dans leur endossement des croyances à « somme-nulle » que les répondants québécois francophones. Les participants québécois anglophones percevaient être victimes de discrimination personnelle et collective comparés aux participants québécois francophones, qui eux ne se sentaient que très faiblement victimes de discrimination.

Les deux groupes ont exprimé une préférence pour les migrants qui partagent leur appartenance linguistique en tant que francophone ou anglophone, que ces migrants soient interprovinciaux ou internationaux. En ce qui concerne les orientations d'acculturation sur l'Échelle d'acculturation des communautés d'accueil (ÉACA) envers les migrants CA du RDC, les Québécois francophones endossaient le plus fortement l'intégrationnisme, suivi de l'individualisme, endossant moyennement le ségrégationnisme et à peine l'assimilationnisme ou l'exclusionnisme. En tant que minorité historique du Québec, les anglophones devaient se prononcer sur leur façon

de s'intégrer à la majorité dominante québécoise francophone. Les Québécois anglophones endossaient le plus fortement le séparatisme vis-à-vis de la culture québécoise dominante, suivi de l'intégration et de l'individualisme et endossaient très peu l'assimilation ou la marginalisation.

Les Québécois anglophone percevaient leurs perspectives de carrière au Québec comme étant moyennement prometteuses et se déclaraient tout aussi prêts à déménager vers une province anglophone du RDC qu'à demeurer au Québec. Les Québécois francophones percevaient avoir de bien meilleures perspectives de carrière et de rémunération au Québec que les anglophones. Les Québécois francophones exprimaient un très faible désir d'émigrer, que ce soit vers l'Acadie ou une province anglophone, témoignant de leur satisfaction de demeurer au Québec ou de leur inquiétude de déménager dans des milieux pas trop accueillants.

Une série de régressions multiples a testé les corrélats socio-psychologiques afin de prédire le désir de rester ou de partir du Québec. En ordre descendant d'importance, les variables suivantes prédisaient la volonté des Québécois anglophones d'émigrer vers une province anglophone du RDC : le désir de fuir les tensions linguistiques présentes au Québec, la perception, en tant qu'anglophone, d'être victime de discrimination collective, la perspective de poursuivre une meilleure carrière professionnelle, la motivation à se mobiliser en faveur de la vitalité anglophone, l'endossement de l'orientation d'acculturation séparatiste envers la culture québécoise, et une faible habileté en français. Les variables suivantes prédisaient en ordre descendant d'importance la volonté des Québécois francophones de migrer vers une province anglophone du RDC : le désir de poursuivre une meilleure carrière, l'usage de l'anglais au quotidien, une faible motivation à se mobiliser en faveur de la vitalité francophone du Québec, et l'identification comme anglophone. Toujours en ordre descendant d'importance, les facteurs suivants prédisaient la volonté des

Québécois anglophones de rester au Québec : l'envie de demeurer près de sa famille, un faible endossement des croyances à somme-nulle concernant les relations entre les francophones et les anglophones, l'adoption de l'orientation d'acculturation intégrationniste à l'égard des migrants Canadiens-anglais au Québec, et la perception d'être légèrement victime de discrimination personnelle.

5.3 Implications théoriques de la thèse

5.3.1 Cohérence entre profils socio-psychologiques et statut minoritaire vs majoritaire

Dans les études 1 et 2, le profil sociopsychologique distinct des trois groupes de CF a été mis en relief, justifiant leur inclusion dans notre échantillon en tant que francophones distincts de la zone bilingue. Il est remarquable que, malgré leur statut de majorité de forte vitalité à l'échelle provinciale, les Québécois francophones semblent avoir des attitudes et perceptions intergroupes très semblables à celles des minoritaires acadiens et Franco-Ontariens dont la vitalité linguistique est nettement plus faible. Vu les résultats décrits ci-haut, le profil des Québécois francophones pourrait être caractérisé comme celui d'une majorité dominante jouissant d'une forte vitalité mais dont les attitudes témoignaient d'une psychologie collective d'une minorité linguistique assiégée.

Les Acadiens, quant à eux, semblent avoir un profil socio-psychologique de minoritaires conforme avec leur statut d'une communauté de faible vitalité constituant un tiers de la population du Nouveau-Brunswick. Celui des Franco-Ontariens s'est démarqué révélant un groupe francophone relativement bilingue et biculturel, ce qui reflète leur statut minoritaire de très faible vitalité, leur proportion étant inférieure à 5% de la population ontarienne. La faible vitalité des Franco-Ontariens aux niveaux

démographique et institutionnel, d'une part, et leurs contacts fréquents en anglais avec les membres de la majorité anglophone, d'autre part, expliquent en partie le désir des Franco-Ontariens de s'identifier au groupe majoritaire anglophone de l'Ontario. La forte identité bilingue des Franco-Ontariens est liée à l'usage soutenu de l'anglais, d'autant plus que les contacts 'agréables' avec les Anglo-Ontariens semblent réduire leur peur d'assimilation (Clément, Gauthier, et Noels, 1993).

Nous pourrions conclure que les Franco-Ontariens 'souffrent' d'une identité bilingue et d'un bilinguisme soustractif, deux facteurs qui ensemble favorisent leur assimilation éventuelle, au niveau linguistique, à la majorité anglophone de l'Ontario (Landry, Deveau, et Allard 2006). Une autre conclusion possible serait que les Franco-Ontariens incarnent l'identité bilingue/biculturelle ouverte et solidement ancrée que vise la politique de bilinguisme fédérale. Dans leur étude portant sur les francophones du RDC et les anglophones du Québec, Freynet et Clément (2015) ont comparé le profil des francophones bilingues et des francophones ou anglophones unilingues, notamment en ce qui concerne la perception de vitalité subjective et l'usage linguistique. Dans l'ensemble, quel que soit leur niveau de vitalité ethnolinguistique (objective), les participants bilingues des groupes francophones se rapprochaient davantage des franco-dominants que des anglo-dominants, étant relativement optimistes quant à la vitalité de leurs communautés et ne favorisant pas l'usage de l'anglais par rapport au français.

Par ailleurs, le profil socio-psychologique des Québécois anglophones semble refléter leur statut précaire en tant que minorité en déclin à l'échelle du Québec. Le sentiment d'être menacés par la présence des Québécois francophones, d'être victimes de discrimination, ou d'entretenir des orientations d'acculturations plutôt séparatistes envers la majorité québécoise francophone, témoigne de leur incertitude quant à leur place au sein de la société dominante québécoise.

5.3.2 Deux ou trois solitudes au Canada ?

Les perceptions des francophones dans les trois provinces de la zone bilingue indiquent surtout l'existence des *deux solitudes*, reflétant les rivalités historiques entre les communautés francophones et anglophones du Canada. Les Québécois francophones, Acadiens et Franco-Ontariens ont exprimé une préférence claire pour les migrants interprovinciaux/internationaux francophones plutôt qu'anglophones. Selon le sondage, les répondants francophones perçoivent que les migrants CF contribuent davantage que les migrants CA à la vitalité linguistique francophone au niveau local. De plus, la présence de migrants CA est perçue comme plus menaçante que celles des migrants CF pour l'ensemble des francophones dans les trois provinces incluant les Québécois. Les analyses de médiation confirment que le maintien de la vitalité endogroupe est une priorité des francophones lorsqu'ils songent à l'accueil de migrants.

Il y avait également un certain appui pour l'hypothèse des *trois solitudes*, selon laquelle les Québécois, Acadiens et Franco-Ontariens ont développé des identités distinctes propre à leur province d'appartenance respective. Les trois groupes de francophones considèrent que leur endogroupe francophone provincial contribue le plus à leur vitalité respective, une contribution dépassant celle des migrants CF. Bien que les répondants de chaque milieu francophone fussent favorables à la migration de CF dans leur province, les réponses sur l'échelle de l'anxiété interculturelle laissent croire que les Québécois francophones étaient perçus comme assez intimidants par les Acadiens et surtout par les Franco-Ontariens. Ces résultats pourraient refléter la divergence entre ces trois communautés francophones, qui s'est développée au cours des dernières décennies. La construction de l'identité proprement '*québécoise*' plutôt

que 'canadienne française' qui s'est articulée avec le nationalisme des années 1960 et 70, a défini de nouveaux rapports entre le Québec majoritairement francophone et les minorités canadiennes françaises du reste du Canada (RDC) (Harvey, 1995). On assiste, selon Thériault (1999), à l'évacuation des francophones minoritaires du RDC du « référent identitaire » historique des Québécois francophones. Surtout pour les nationalistes québécois, la disparition de la francophonie hors-Québec a un avantage idéologique puisque cette perspective permet d'affirmer la légitimité politique de la cause séparatiste sans avoir à rendre compte des liens identitaires et de solidarités entre les Québécois francophones et les Canadiens français du RDC. Outre la communauté historique acadienne des Maritimes, la provincialisation des identités francophones a eu lieu dans les autres provinces et territoires canadiens, leurs communautés francophones désormais nommées franco-ontarienne, franco-manitobaine, fransaskoise (Saskatchewan), franco-albertaine, franco-colombienne, franco-youkonnaise et franco-ténoise (Harvey, 1995).

Nous avons obtenus un certain appui pour l'hypothèse de l'*identité commune*, et ce, parmi les Acadiens et Franco-Ontariens qui s'identifiaient un peu plus comme Canadiens que comme membre de leur endogroupe francophone provincial. Aussi, les Franco-Ontariens hautement biculturels avaient des attitudes moins polarisées quant à leur préférence pour des migrants CF vs CA comparés aux deux autres groupes de participants francophones.

D'autres études seront nécessaires afin de mieux cerner jusqu'à quel point tous les types de migrants francophones peuvent être considérés comme membres à part entière des communautés francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick, du Québec ou de l'Ontario, respectivement. En fait, l'inclusion identitaire en milieu de francophonie minoritaire fait l'objet de plusieurs débats au sein de ces différentes communautés, surtout en ce qui a trait aux immigrants de « minorités visibles » francophones de

l'Afrique et du Moyen-Orient. Par exemple, dans leur discussion de la diaspora en Acadie, Magord et Belkhodja (2005) mettent en question la place que l'immigration internationale peut prendre dans « l'élaboration d'un projet de société acadien élargi » (p. 46). Dans son analyse, Gallant (2007) pose la question suivante : Les immigrants francophones d'Afrique de l'ouest ou du Maghreb peuvent-ils devenir des Acadiens, des Franco-Ontariens, des Fransaskois, etc. ? Dans ses entrevues, Gallant (2007) a interrogé de jeunes francophones acadiens des provinces maritimes et fransaskois. La plupart des jeunes interrogés se sont dit favorables à l'arrivée d'immigrants internationaux francophones; toutefois, ils n'étaient pas prêts à inclure ces « minorités visibles » sur le plan identitaire canadien français surtout en milieu acadien. Gallant a noté que selon l'origine ethnique des immigrants « les attitudes positives face à l'immigration peuvent s'accompagner d'attitudes aussi bien d'inclusion que d'exclusion identitaire des immigrants » (p. 96). Cette ambivalence face à l'inclusion des immigrants francophones de l'Afrique du nord, souvent musulmans, est aussi présente chez les Québécois francophones comme en témoigna le débat très contentieux sur la 'Charte des valeurs québécoises' proposée par le Gouvernement du Parti Québécois en 2013-2014 (Bourhis, 2014).

5.3.3 Implications théoriques pour la migration interne

Les Québécois francophones et Acadiens étaient semblables quant à leur faible volonté de quitter leur province comparée à celle des Franco-Ontariens. Notons qu'en général, les répondants francophones ne semblent guère envisager l'émigration, peu importe la destination proposée. Quant aux raisons pour l'émigration, tel que prévu, les facteurs économiques, tel par exemple l'obtention d'un meilleur emploi, ont fortement prédit la volonté d'émigrer au Québec, aux provinces majoritairement anglophones et même aux États-Unis. Deux facteurs non-économiques ont aussi

émergé comme prédicteurs significatifs : 1) le désir de s'éloigner des tensions linguistiques dans le cas des membres de la minorité anglophone du Québec et des minoritaire francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick et de l'Ontario, et 2) le goût de vivre une nouvelle expérience culturelle dans le cas de l'émigration aux États-Unis. En ce qui a trait aux variables socio-psychologiques proposées comme corrélats, plusieurs se sont avérées prédictrices de la volonté d'émigrer d'autant plus que les résultats étaient semblables en comparant les provinces canadiennes et les États-Unis comme destinations. Ceci suggère, tel que nous nous attendions, que les causes sous-jacentes de la migration interne ou internationale sont souvent similaires (King & Skeldon, 2010).

Un lien intéressant est apparu entre l'ouverture d'individus aux immigrants et le désir de ces mêmes individus d'émigrer. Notamment, plus ils étaient favorables aux migrants interprovinciaux et endossaient l'orientation d'*intégration-transformation* envers ces migrants, plus ils étaient prêts à émigrer eux-mêmes. Ces résultats dénotent possiblement une vision cosmopolite envers la migration interprovinciale et internationale. En ce qui concerne le rôle de la vitalité ethnolinguistique, les résultats suggèrent que la migration vers une région francophone du Canada pourrait être, pour les répondants francophones, une façon d'exprimer leur appui à la vitalité endogroupe. Il est donc possible qu'une destination à forte présence francophone implique le choix d'un entourage collectif qui favorise le renforcement identitaire francophone. Inversement, plus les répondants francophones voulaient se mobiliser en faveur de la vitalité des anglophones aux dépens de la vitalité de leur propre communauté, plus ils étaient prêts à émigrer vers une province anglophone.

La proposition que la perception de discrimination personnelle et/ou collective soit un facteur de migration déterminant n'est soutenue que dans le cas des Québécois anglophones. Ce résultat correspond à l'hypothèse émise dans le cadre de la

comparaison entre Québécois anglophones et francophones, ces derniers ayant l'impression de n'être que très faiblement victimes de discrimination. Ceci expliquerait pourquoi les Québécois francophones sont peu attirés par l'émigration au Canada-anglais ou aux États-Unis. En ce sens, les Québécois francophones semblent confortables en tant que majorité dominante au Québec, envisageant l'émigration hors province principalement pour des raisons de développement personnel et professionnel. Toutefois, chez les Acadiens et Franco-Ontariens, notons que toute corrélation entre la perception de discrimination personnelle ou collective et la volonté d'émigrer vers le Québec ou une province anglophone est négligeable. Pour ces deux groupes minoritaires francophones dont l'accent en français est différent de celui des Québécois, il faut voir si le Québec serait une destination désirable vu que les deux groupes risquent d'être victimes d'une forme de stigmatisation linguistique autre que celle dont souffre le monde anglophone au Québec, et qui serait provoquée par leur accent français sensiblement 'non québécois'.

5.4 Implications pour la politique du bilinguisme canadien

Nous pourrions soutenir que le but fondamental de la politique de bilinguisme officiel est tout d'abord de réduire les tensions linguistiques afin de permettre la coexistence entre communautés francophones et anglophones canadiennes sur une base de collaboration mutuelle et non de compétition intergroupe. Les sondages ont démontré un appui soutenu pour la politique de bilinguisme du gouvernement canadien surtout par les francophones, et ce depuis plusieurs décennies. Parmi les anglophones, la croissance du bilinguisme s'est accélérée à partir des années 2000 (Commissariat aux langues officielles, 2006).

Cette politique continue à attribuer de ressources financières importantes pour les communautés linguistiques en situation minoritaire. Étant donné la quantité de ressources limitées ainsi que la menace que pose la perte de vitalité linguistique (par assimilation ou exode), il n'est pas étonnant que les Québécois francophones (QF) et les Québécois anglophones (QA) puissent croire qu'un gain par l'exogroupe représente une perte pour l'endogroupe, tel que révélé par leurs endossement de croyances à somme-nulle (Esses et al., 1998). Comme le démontrent nos analyses de médiation, pour les francophones, ces croyances à somme-nulle expliquent en partie le lien entre la menace identitaire et la résistance aux migrants CA. Chez les Anglo-Québécois, moins ces croyances à somme-nulle étaient endossées, plus la volonté de rester au Québec était grande. Donc, toutes éventuelles interventions découlant de toute politique fédérale devrait prendre la forme d'efforts visant à modérer les croyances à somme-nulle au sein des communautés francophones et anglophones de la zone bilingue du Canada. Ceci dit, il ne faut pas négliger l'influence des politiques linguistiques provinciales qui peuvent être plus ou moins tolérantes à l'égard des minorités officielles et peuvent créer des obstacles face à la politique fédérale sur le bilinguisme.

Au Québec, les politiques linguistiques mises en place suite à la Révolution tranquille pour favoriser le statut et l'usage de la langue française ont contribué à la diminution de la vitalité démographique, institutionnelle et juridique de la minorité anglo-québécoise (Bourhis, 2012). L'aménagement linguistique en faveur du français fut un succès (Corbeil, 2007) malgré le prestige social de l'anglais en Amérique du Nord et dans le monde entier sur le plan socioéconomique, scientifique et culturel.

Il est donc évident qu'une communauté linguistique puisse parler une langue qui jouit d'un grand prestige international, tout en souffrant d'un déclin de vitalité démographique et institutionnelle à l'échelle régionale (Bourhis, 2001b). De surcroît,

les décideurs politiques québécois ont parfois appuyé les positions des provinces du RDC de réprimer les droits des francophones minoritaires pour éviter d'être obligés d'accorder des droits réciproques à la minorité anglophone du Québec (Behiels, 2004). Considérons également que la perte d'appui institutionnel parmi les QA ne soit pas de bon augure pour les francophones minoritaires du RDC. Au lieu de viser une vitalité institutionnelle comparable à celle des QA à son point optimal, le nivellement vers le bas imposé à la minorité anglophone du Québec par le gouvernement provincial pourrait étouffer les aspirations de complétude institutionnelle pour les francophones du RDC.

5.5 Limites de la recherche

Les études réalisées dans le cadre de cette thèse comportent certaines limites méthodologiques. D'une part, bien que le nombre de répondants des deux premières études ($n = 658$) et de la troisième étude 3 ($n = 439$) soit élevé, les échantillons étaient composés d'individus complétant leurs études universitaires de premier cycle, et dont la majorité était de sexe féminin, ce qui est le cas de la plupart des programmes universitaires. Ce type d'échantillon universitaire comporte plusieurs avantages, tels qu'un certain contrôle méthodologique par rapport à l'âge, le niveau de scolarisation, et le statut socio-économique des participants. Cependant, les échantillons sondés ne sont pas représentatifs de la population générale qui est habituellement moins libérale et moins accueillante envers les groupes minoritaires, relativement aux groupes d'individus plus scolarisés (Guimond, 1992; Guimond & Palmer, 1996). De telles attitudes inclusives sont cohérentes avec la culture organisationnelle individualiste et méritocratique des institutions d'enseignement postsecondaire, qui valorisent le rendement scolaire et la performance individuelle

sans égard à l'origine culturelle, linguistique, ethnique socio-économique ou religieuse.

La méthodologie utilisée pour définir les critères d'inclusion dans les échantillons comporte elle aussi certaines limites. Pour les milieux francophones, l'échantillon est formé de participants provenant des trois provinces et qui sont nés et qui ont grandi dans l'une des provinces, dont la langue maternelle était le français et dont les parents sont nés au Canada. Ceci a donné à notre échantillon une représentativité des communautés francophones historiques et potentiellement davantage marquées par les tensions linguistiques existant dans les trois provinces. Or, tel que mentionné ci-dessus, l'immigration internationale multiethnique et multilingue devient de plus en plus importante pour les communautés francophones de la zone bilingue, pour qui le maintien et la croissance de la vitalité ethnolinguistique reste un enjeu central. Cela explique pourquoi un nombre croissant de francophones minoritaires du RDC souhaitent augmenter le nombre d'immigrants francophones qui s'installent dans leurs régions respectives afin de maintenir leur vitalité démographique et ce quel que soit l'origine ethnique ou religieuse de ces nouveaux migrants francophones.

Pour les mêmes raisons, les Québécois francophones majoritaires préfèrent clairement attirer, intégrer et retenir des immigrants francophones dans leur communauté d'accueil plutôt que dans la communauté d'accueil minoritaire anglophone du Québec, et cette préférence est enchâssée dans les lois linguistiques de la province (Corbeil, 2007). L'échantillon québécois anglophone de l'étude 3, quant à lui, comprend des participants nés au Québec, dont la langue maternelle est l'anglais et dont au moins un des parents est né au Canada et ayant l'anglais comme langue maternelle. Par contre, étant donné que la diversité culturelle, qu'elle soit de nature ethnique, religieuse ou linguistique, caractérise la jeunesse d'expression anglaise (Jedwab, 2012), le critère de l'anglais comme première langue officielle parlée

permettrait de recruter des jeunes issus de l'immigration de première ou deuxième génération, plusieurs d'entre eux étant des minorités visibles (l'expression employée par le gouvernement fédéral pour désigner les personnes, autres que les Autochtones, qui ne sont pas considérés de race blanche.) L'élargissement des critères d'inclusion dans toute étude ultérieure servirait donc à refléter les nouvelles réalités des francophones et anglophones en situation minoritaire qui visent à intégrer les immigrants dans leurs définitions identitaires historiques afin de rehausser et renforcer leur vitalité endogroupe et d'assurer un renouvellement de leurs communautés linguistiques respectives.

Une autre limite de la méthodologie utilisée se rapporte à la nature corrélationnelle du devis de recherche. Le nôtre ne permet pas d'établir des liens de causalité entre la menace identitaire, les croyances à somme-nulle et les attitudes envers les migrants internes d'une part, ou entre les divers corrélats socio-psychologiques et la volonté d'émigrer, d'autre part. Néanmoins, la recension des publications indique que le sentiment de menace est souvent à la base d'attitudes négatives envers les exogroupes (cf. Montreuil et al., 2004; Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). En ce qui a trait à la volonté d'émigrer, par contre, les écrits sur les variables mesurant des attitudes intergroupes sont peu nombreux. Dans notre étude, les participants ont partagé leurs perceptions et attitudes envers les migrants CF et CA, ainsi que leur propre envie d'émigrer dans le cadre d'un seul questionnaire, ce qui aurait pu influencer leurs réponses par le fait même de répondre aux questions et d'y répondre dans une langue plutôt qu'une autre (Bourhis, 1994).

Des études longitudinales quantitatives et qualitatives effectuées auprès de migrants permettraient de mieux cerner la situation pré- et post-migratoire ainsi que d'obtenir des témoignages se rapportant à de réelles situations dans lesquelles des migrants pourront révéler les enjeux personnels/collectifs qui ont influencé leur décision de

d'immigrer, ou de retourner chez eux, et les démarches qu'ils auraient suivies. Une telle analyse pourrait, entre autre, permettre de déterminer dans quelle proportion les migrants interrégionaux, interprovinciaux ou internationaux retournent à leur région, province ou pays d'origine, et les raisons de leur migration inverse. Des recherches menées aux Pays-Bas suggèrent que près d'un tiers des individus qui déclarent leur intention d'émigrer finissent effectivement par émigrer dans les 2 années qui suivent (De Groot, Manting, & Mulder, 2007; Van Dalen & Henkens, 2008). En ce qui concerne la migration de retour, selon une étude longitudinale portant sur des immigrants en Allemagne, les liens sociaux dans le pays d'origine et celui d'accueil semblent constituer des facteurs importants qui poussent des immigrants à retourner au pays natal, ce qui suggère l'importance de l'appartenance sociale et psychologique (Constant & Massey, 2003) chez les communautés migrantes.

5.6 Recherches futures

Des recherches futures similaires à la nôtre pourraient porter sur différents échantillons, ou cibler des Canadiens anglophones du RDC, dont la perception identitaire serait différente que celle des Canadiens francophones.

Les échantillons qui ont servi dans notre recherche proviennent principalement de villes importantes de la zone bilingue du Canada : Moncton, Montréal, Ottawa et Sudbury. Ces villes furent choisies pour leur grand nombre d'habitants bilingues francophones et parce qu'ils constituent une destination de choix pour les migrants interprovinciaux francophones. Montréal, en particulier, contient un nombre considérable d'anglophones bilingues et attire plus de 85% des immigrants arrivant au Québec. De futures recherches pourraient élargir l'échantillon de participants en recrutant dans des villes où la proportion de francophones et d'anglophones varie

selon un continuum allant de très petites minorités francophones et anglophones à des villes majoritairement francophones et anglophones. De tels échantillons ont été utilisés avec succès dans les études d'élèves du secondaire sur l'usage des langues officielles en fonction de la vitalité des communautés francophones et anglophones du Canada (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2010, 2013).

Les anglophones, qui sont majoritaires partout au Canada sauf le Québec, représentent les communautés d'accueil pour les migrants internes et internationaux au même titre que les francophones. Jouissant d'une plus grande vitalité linguistique, les anglophones du RDC pourraient offrir un point de vue différent sur les relations présentes et passées entre les 'deux solitudes' comparé au point de vue des Québécois anglophones. Étant minoritaires à l'échelle du Québec, les Québécois anglophones ont dû redéfinir les frontières ethnique et linguistique de leur endogroupe historique (écossais, irlandais) afin de mieux inclure la diversité ethnique, raciale, linguistique et religieuse de tous ceux qui préfèrent l'anglais au français et qui contribuent ainsi à la vitalité des communautés de langue anglaise au Québec (Jedwab, 2012). Ce processus d'intégration est toujours en cours et mérite d'autres études ciblant surtout les stratégies identitaires et linguistiques des Québécois anglophones nés de mariages mixtes entre anglophones et francophones, anglophones et allophones, et allophones d'origines ethniques différentes dont la langue officielle préférée est l'anglais.

Étant donné que les mémoires collectives peuvent être liées à l'identité collective partagée (Liu & Hilton, 2005) ainsi qu'aux perceptions présentes de la vitalité endogroupe (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008), des recherches futures pourraient également se pencher sur les événements ou incidents historiques qui sont implantés dans la conscience des francophones et anglophones de la zone bilingue du Canada. Les communautés québécoises francophones/anglophones, acadiennes et franco-ontariennes peuvent invoquer des périodes critiques de leur histoire durant lesquelles

ils ou plutôt leurs ancêtres auraient pu être victimes de torts causés par des exogroupes linguistiques (Bougie, Usborne, de la Sablonnière, & Taylor, 2011). D'une part, la victimisation historique pourrait expliquer en partie pourquoi, malgré leur statut majoritaire, les Québécois francophones partageaient avec les minorités acadienne et franco-ontarienne leur perception d'insécurité linguistique. D'autre part, pour les francophones, les représentations collectives marquant les anglophones comme oppresseurs ont sûrement un impact sur les attitudes négatives des QF envers eux. Quoique l'anglais soit reconnu comme la langue dominante à travers le monde, il n'empêche que dans le contexte unique qui est celui du Québec, la reconnaissance des défis auxquels font face les communautés anglophones aiderait à ré-encadrer les relations intergroupes afin de réduire ou d'éliminer les tensions sociales entre la majorité francophone dominante et la minorité dont la langue d'expression principale est l'anglais. Si les Québécois francophones reconnaissaient davantage la place qu'occupent les communautés anglophones au niveau historique, ayant été établis au Québec depuis plus de 250 ans, seraient-ils plus inclinés à proposer un accommodement plus équilibrée avec eux sans se sentir menacés ? La réciprocité serait évidemment indispensable. Autrement dit, il faudrait que les anglophones reconnaissent le rôle et l'importance historiques des communautés francophones dans le contexte de l'histoire canadienne.

Des recherches futures seraient pareillement nécessaires afin de mieux cerner comment les orientations d'acculturation et le souci de maintenir la vitalité ethnolinguistique peuvent avoir un impact sur la volonté, l'intention et éventuellement la décision d'émigrer. Quand nous considérons les facteurs économiques, sociaux et politiques indépendamment les uns des autres, il n'est pas possible de saisir la complexe réalité des processus décisionnels au niveau individuel et collectif. Par exemple, la discrimination dans le marché du travail réduit le nombre d'opportunités économiques des anglophones bilingues au Québec les incitant à

migrer vers les provinces anglophones du RDC offrant de meilleures perspectives d'emploi et d'insertion sociale (Floch & Pocock, 2012).

Enfin, dans la zone bilingue du Canada, il serait important d'examiner la migration intra-provinciale et interrégionale (p. ex. Magnan et al., 2007) vues les grandes disparités entre centres urbains et régions rurales au niveau du développement économique/culturel, de la géographie, et de la composition ethnolinguistique de chacune des régions dans chacune des provinces. Il se peut que les francophones et anglophones minoritaires choisissent une région qui se trouve dans leur province d'origine mais dans laquelle la concentration de membres appartenant à leur endogroupe linguistique serait plus ou moins forte. Par exemple, une étude de deux régions rurales, l'une en Ontario et l'autre au Nouveau-Brunswick, suggère que proportionnellement, l'émigration est souvent plus importante parmi les francophones que les anglophones (Beaudin, Forgues, & Noël, 2013) et ce envers de plus grands centres urbains où la concentration de membres appartenant à leur endogroupe linguistique est moins forte que dans les régions qu'ils ont quittées. Ce type de migration finit par affaiblir la vitalité démographique des communautés traditionnellement établies.

5.7 Conclusion

Plusieurs conclusions importantes découlent des trois études présentées. Les résultats de la première étude, dans laquelle ont été comparés trois groupes francophones de la zone bilingue canadienne, ont tout d'abord démontré que les Québécois majoritaires ont le sentiment de se retrouver dans une situation tout aussi précaire du point de vue linguistique que les Acadiens et les Franco-Ontariens minoritaires. Cette même étude a permis aussi de faire ressortir des preuves à l'appui de l'hypothèse des trois

solitudes. L'élaboration des profils sociopsychologiques démontre notamment qu'il y a certaines divergences identitaires entre les groupes linguistiques et que les participants de chaque province sont convaincus que l'endogroupe local contribue le plus à la vitalité francophone de leur région. En ce qui concerne le cadre de la vitalité ethnolinguistique, une posture stratégique a été mise en évidence chez les trois groupes de répondants qui, peu importe leur statut de majorité ou minorité linguistique, semblent apprécier la contribution potentielle des migrants CF et CA à la vitalité de leur endogroupe respectif. Ceci offre une piste de recherche originale visant l'étude de la relation entre les attitudes envers les immigrants et leur implication pour la vitalité endogroupe, qui pourrait être examinée dans des contextes où les rivalités intergroupes sont plus prononcées voire même antagonistes.

La même comparaison entre Québécois francophones, Acadiens et Franco-Ontariens, en ce qui a trait à l'émigration interprovinciale, a permis dans la deuxième étude de déterminer que les facteurs prédisant la volonté d'émigrer vers une destination qui se trouve à l'extérieur ou à l'intérieur du pays d'origine sont semblables. Par ailleurs, des facteurs d'émigration d'ordre non-économique tels que les compétences linguistiques, le désir de vivre une nouvelle expérience culturelle ainsi que la tendance à adopter une attitude accueillante envers divers groupes de migrants, se sont avérés significatifs.

Enfin, la troisième étude a tenté d'aborder la question des relations entre francophones et anglophones au Québec en considérant les motivations pour l'émigration hors-province. La polarisation des attitudes intergroupes est apparente chez les QA et QF, bien que les tensions linguistiques semblent constituer un facteur de migration uniquement parmi les anglophones, pour qui les incitatifs économiques ainsi que la perception de discrimination furent de puissants prédicteurs de la volonté de quitter le Québec. De toute évidence, bien que l'anglais soit la langue dominante

en Amérique du nord et la langue du commerce international, ayant par ailleurs un statut important au Québec, il n'empêche que la vitalité des communautés anglo-québécoises soit affectée par les tensions linguistiques aux niveaux provincial et régional. Nos résultats soutiennent donc l'idée fondamentale que le statut de la langue d'une communauté n'est pas indicatif du statut dont jouit la communauté en soit.

De toute évidence, le modèle d'acculturation interactif (MAI) peut très bien s'appliquer à la migration intra-nationale, d'abord pour rendre compte des relations entre communautés d'accueil et communautés de migrants internes ou de membres de minorités nationales. Comme c'est le cas pour les Anglo-Québécois depuis plusieurs décennies, le désir d'émigrer – tel qu'exprimé par une collectivité – est symptomatique de tensions intergroupes qui peuvent être accentuées par la perception de relations concurrentielles (et non collaboratives). Le MAI pourrait être utilisé afin de prédire l'adoption d'une telle stratégie (de sortie) en évaluant les orientations d'acculturation des minoritaires, pour qui l'endossement de l'intégrationnisme relativement au séparatisme indiquerait une plus grande susceptibilité de demeurer dans la région d'origine plutôt que de la quitter.

APPENDICE A

LETTRES CONFIRMANT LA SOUMISSION DU DEUXIÈME ET TROISIÈME
ARTICLES

Courriel reçu de l'assistante au rédacteur en chef d'*Études ethniques canadiennes* confirmant la soumission du deuxième article

ces@ucalgary.ca <ces@ucalgary.ca>
To: Rana Sioufi <rana.sioufi@gmail.com>

Hello Rana,
Thank you for your submission to CES.
Please send us 3-4 sentence bio notes on yourself and Dr. Bourhis.
Once we receive your payment, we will start the search for reviewers for your article.
Once again, thank you very much for your submission. We look forward to reviewing your article.
Sincerely,
Claire Hutchinson
Assistant to the Editor
[Quoted text hidden]

Courriel reçu de la revue *International Journal for Intercultural Relations* confirmant la soumission du troisième article

Submission IJIR_2016_67 received by International Journal of Intercultural Relations

1 message

Evise <EviseSupport@elsevier.com>
To: rana.sioufi@gmail.com

Wed, Mar 2, 2016 at 3:51 PM

This message was sent automatically. Please do not reply.

Ref: IJIR_2016_67
Title: Acculturation and push-pull factors accounting for willingness to migrate
Journal: International Journal of Intercultural Relations

Dear Ms. Sioufi,

Thank you for submitting your manuscript for consideration for publication in International Journal of Intercultural Relations. Your submission was received in good order.

To track the status of your manuscript, please log into EVISE® at: http://www.evise.com/evise/faces/pages/navigation/NavController.jspx?JRNL_ACR=IJIR and locate your submission under the header 'My Submissions with Journal' on your 'My Author Tasks' view.

Thank you for submitting your work to this journal.

Kind regards,

International Journal of Intercultural Relations

Have questions or need assistance?

For further assistance, please visit our Customer Support site. Here you can search for solutions on a range of topics, find answers to frequently asked questions, and learn more about EVISE® via interactive tutorials. You can also talk 24/5 to our customer support team by phone and 24/7 by live chat and email.

APPENDICE B

APPROBATION ÉTHIQUE

No. 591014

Le Comité institutionnel d'éthique de la recherche avec des êtres humains de l'UQAM a examiné le projet de recherche suivant :

Responsable(s) du projet: Richard Y. Bourhis

Unité(s) : Département de psychologie

Co-chercheur(s): Victoria Esses (University of Western Ontario); Monika Steidl (St Thomas University).

Titre du projet : «French/English inter-provincial migration in Canada's Bilingual Belt».

Stagiaire postdoctoral :

Étudiant(s) réalisant leurs projets de mémoire ou de thèse dans le cadre du présent projet ou programme : Rana Sioufi (étudiante au doctorat en psychologie).

Ce protocole de recherche est jugé conforme aux pratiques habituelles et répond aux normes établies par le Cadre normatif pour l'éthique de la recherche avec des êtres humains de l'UQAM (1999) et l'Énoncé de politique des trois

Conseils : Éthique de la recherche avec des êtres humains (2010).

Le présent certificat est valide jusqu'au 21 septembre 2012.

Rapport du statut du projet (renouvellement du certificat ou de fin de projet) attendu pour le 21 août 2012.

(<http://www.recherche.uqam.ca/ethique/humains-suivi-continuu.htm>)

Membres du Comité

Membres	Fonction/Discipline	Département ou organisme externe
Marc Bélanger	Ph.D. (sciences neurologiques)	Kinanthropologie
René Binette	Représentant du public	Ecomusée du fier monde
Louise Cossette	Ph.D. (psychologie)	Psychologie
Andrée De Serres	Ph.D. (administration)	Stratégie, responsabilité sociale et environnementale
Christa Japel	Ph.D. (psychologie)	Éducation et pédagogie
Maria Nengoh Mensah	Ph.D. (Communications)	École de travail social
Christian Saint-Germain	Ph.D. (théologie)	Philosophie

Date de la réunion : 11 septembre 2009

Date d'émission initiale du certificat : 21 septembre 2009

Date(s) de renouvellement du certificat :

R-1 : 27 07 2010

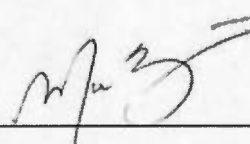
R-2 : 21 09 2011

R-3 :

R-4 :

R-5 :

Remarque :


 Marc Bélanger, Ph.D., Président

APPENDICE C

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT

FORMULAIRE D'INFORMATION ET DE CONSENTEMENT

Département de Psychologie

Titre du projet: Étude d'opinions concernant les communautés immigrantes au Québec

IDENTIFICATION

Directeur du projet : Richard Y. Bourhis ; Coordinatrice du projet : Rana Sioufi
 Département de psychologie, UQAM : tél : 514 987 3000 poste 4852
 Adresse postale : CP 8888, Succ Centre-Ville, Montréal, QC, H3C 3P8
 Adresse courriel : bourhis.richard@uqam.ca ; rana.sioufi@gmail.com

BUT GÉNÉRAL DU PROJET

Vous êtes invités à prendre part à ce projet visant à mieux comprendre vos opinions personnelles et vos perceptions des différentes communautés ethniques du Québec. Nous sommes intéressés à connaître vos attitudes à l'endroit des communautés immigrantes installées au Québec. Nous cherchons aussi à connaître vos opinions concernant la façon d'intégrer les immigrants au Québec. Votre collaboration est essentielle à la réalisation du projet et je tiens à vous en remercier.

PROCÉDURE(S)

Votre participation consiste à compléter un questionnaire anonyme en classe. Le temps nécessaire pour compléter ce questionnaire est d'environ 35 minutes. Il n'y a pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses. Nous apprécions vos opinions spontanées et sincères. Sachez que nous garantissons l'anonymat complet de vos réponses. Les résultats seront analysés statistiquement par groupe et non sur une base individuelle.

AVANTAGES et RISQUES

Il n'y a pas de risque d'inconfort associé à la complétion de ce questionnaire anonyme. Vous demeurez libre de ne pas répondre à une question que vous estimez embarrassante. De plus, vous êtes libre de mettre fin à votre participation au questionnaire en tout temps sans avoir à vous justifier.

CONFIDENTIALITÉ et ANONYMAT

Il est entendu que les renseignements recueillis dans ce questionnaire sont anonymes et confidentiels. Seuls l'équipe de recherche de Richard Bourhis aura accès aux questionnaires pour la saisie des données et les analyses statistiques. Votre questionnaire ainsi que ce formulaire de consentement seront conservés séparément sous clé au laboratoire de Richard Bourhis à l'UQAM pour la durée totale du projet. Tel que requis par les publications scientifiques, les questionnaires ainsi que les formulaires de consentement seront détruits 5 ans après les dernières publications de ce projet.

PARTICIPATION VOLONTAIRE

Votre participation à ce questionnaire est volontaire. Cela signifie que vous acceptez de compléter le questionnaire en classe sans aucune contrainte ou pression extérieure, et que par ailleurs vous êtes libres de mettre fin à votre participation en tout temps sans aucune conséquence pour vous. Votre accord à compléter le questionnaire anonyme implique que vous acceptez que l'équipe de recherche puisse utiliser aux fins de la présente recherche (articles, conférences et communications scientifiques) les renseignements recueillis dans le questionnaire.

COMPENSATION FINANCIÈRE

Il n'y a pas de compensation financière pour votre participation à ce questionnaire anonyme.

DES QUESTIONS SUR LE PROJET OU SUR VOS DROITS?

Vous pouvez contacter Richard Bourhis pour des questions additionnelles sur le projet. Le Comité d'éthique de la recherche avec des êtres humains du Département de psychologie de l'UQAM a approuvé le projet de recherche auquel vous allez participer. Pour des informations concernant vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche ou pour formuler une plainte ou des commentaires vous pouvez contacter le directeur du projet Richard Bourhis au Département de psychologie de l'UQAM au numéro (514) 987-3000 # 4852.

SIGNATURES :

Je, _____, reconnais avoir lu le présent formulaire de consentement volontairement à compléter ce questionnaire en classe. Je reconnais aussi que le responsable du projet a répondu à mes questions de manière satisfaisante et que j'ai disposé de suffisamment de temps pour réfléchir à ma décision de participer. Je comprends que ma participation à ce questionnaire est totalement volontaire et que je peux y mettre fin en tout temps, sans pénalité d'aucune forme, ni justification à donner. Il me suffira de remettre le questionnaire non-complété et de ne pas signer le formulaire de consentement.

Signature du participant : _____
Date :

PS : Ce formulaire de consentement est conservé séparément de votre questionnaire

APPENDICE D

INSTRUMENTS DE MESURE : QUESTIONNAIRE DESTINÉ AUX QUÉBÉCOIS FRANCOPHONES

**ÉTUDE D'OPINIONS
CONCERNANT LA DIVERSITÉ AU QUÉBEC
2011**

**QUESTIONNAIRE #1
Ce questionnaire est anonyme!**

Pour vos questions et commentaires concernant ce questionnaire, prière de rejoindre :

Rana Sioufi, Doctorante
Richard Bourhis, Professeur
Département de psychologie, Université du Québec à Montréal
514-987-3000 x4852
Courriel : rana.sioufi@gmail.com, bourhis.richard@uqam.ca

HCAS

Les questions qui suivent concernent vos perceptions de divers groupes sociaux au Québec. Divers énoncés vous seront présentés, chacun exprimant une opinion que vous pouvez partager ou non. Pour chaque énoncé, nous vous demandons d'exprimer votre degré d'accord. Pour ce faire, veuillez **encercler** le chiffre correspondant à **votre opinion** sur les échelles en cinq points selon le code suivant:

Pas du tout en accord 1	Plutôt en désaccord 2	Un peu en accord 3	Moyennement en accord 4	Plutôt en accord 5	Beaucoup en accord 6	Entièrement en accord 7
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Ainsi, si par exemple nous vous présentons l'énoncé suivant:

*Le basketball est l'un des sports les plus
excitants du monde.* 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- Si vous êtes entièrement en accord avec l'énoncé parce que vous trouvez le basketball énormément excitant, vous encerclerez le chiffre 7.
- Si vous n'êtes pas du tout en accord avec l'énoncé parce que vous trouvez le basketball totalement ennuyant, vous encerclerez le chiffre 1.
- Si vous êtes moyennement en accord avec l'énoncé parce que vous ne trouvez le basketball ni excitant ni ennuyant, vous encerclerez le chiffre 4.
- Si vous trouvez le basketball excitant mais pas absolument, vous encerclerez les chiffres 5 ou 6.
- Finalement, si vous trouvez le basketball ennuyant mais pas totalement, vous encerclerez les chiffres 2 ou 3.

Nous nous intéressons à vos opinions spontanées et sincères. Il n'y a pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses. Sachez aussi que nous garantissons l'anonymat complet de vos réponses. Les résultats seront analysés statistiquement par groupe et non sur une base individuelle.

Note: Tout au long du questionnaire, le masculin est employé pour représenter les deux sexes et ce, dans le seul et unique but d'alléger le texte.

1) Informations générales

a- Votre âge :		
b- Sexe :	Masculin : <input type="checkbox"/>	Féminin : <input type="checkbox"/>
c- Quel est votre lieu de naissance (ville, province, pays)?		
d- Depuis combien de temps vivez-vous au Québec (inscrire "Naissance" si vous y habitez depuis votre naissance)		
e- Dans quelle ville habitez-vous en ce moment et depuis combien de temps?		
f- Dans quelles autres villes, provinces ou pays avez-vous habité auparavant et pour combien de temps?		
g- Quelle est votre langue maternelle?		
h- Dans quelle langue surtout (français et/ou anglais) avez vous étudié au primaire et au secondaire?		
i- Dans quelle langue avez vous surtout étudié au collège (CEGEP) et/ou à l'université? (ex. français et/ou anglais)		
j- Quel est le pays d'origine ou la province de votre père/tuteur ?		
k- Depuis combien de temps vit-il au Canada et dans quelle (s) province (s)?		
l- Quelle est sa langue maternelle et autre (s) langue (s) parlé(es)? (Souligner sa langue maternelle)		
m- Quel est le pays d'origine ou la province de votre mère/tutrice ?		
n- Depuis combien de temps vit-elle au Canada et dans quelle(s) province (s)?		
o- Quelle est sa langue maternelle et autre(s) langue(s) parlée (s)? (Souligner sa langue maternelle)		

1.1) Évaluez vos habiletés dans les langues suivantes en utilisant le code suivant :

Pas du tout 1	Un peu 2	Assez 3	Moyennement 4	Bien 5	Très bien 6	Couramment 7
------------------	-------------	------------	------------------	-----------	----------------	-----------------

- a- Je comprends le français 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Je parle le français 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Je comprends l'anglais 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Je parle l'anglais 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- Je comprends une autre langue
Spécifier : _____ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- Je parle une autre langue
Spécifier : _____ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2) Cette série de questions concerne vos opinions à l'égard des immigrants acadiens maintenant établis au Québec. Un immigrant acadien est une personne née au Nouveau-Brunswick dont la langue maternelle est le français et dont les ancêtres sont acadiens. Dans cette section, nous employons le terme " culture québécoise " pour référer à la culture francophone du Québec. Répondez en utilisant le code suivant:

Pas du tout en accord 1	Plutôt en désaccord 2	Un peu en accord 3	Moyennement en accord 4	Plutôt en accord 5	Beaucoup en accord 6	Entièrement en accord 7
-------------------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------------	--------------------------	----------------------------	-------------------------------

2.1 En ce qui concerne la culture...

- a. Les immigrants acadiens peuvent conserver leur culture d'origine tant qu'elle n'influence pas la culture des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des immigrants acadiens et de leur culture. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. Les immigrants acadiens peuvent conserver leur culture d'origine tout en adoptant la culture québécoise. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. Que les immigrants acadiens conservent leur culture ou adoptent celle des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir la culture qui lui convient. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. Les immigrants acadiens devraient abandonner leur culture d'origine pour adopter la culture québécoise. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- f Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leur propre culture pour mieux intégrer les immigrants acadiens. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2.2) En ce qui concerne les valeurs ...

- a- Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des immigrants acadiens et de leurs valeurs. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Les immigrants acadiens devraient abandonner leurs valeurs d'origine pour adopter les valeurs des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Les immigrants acadiens peuvent conserver leurs valeurs d'origine tout en adoptant les valeurs des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leurs propres valeurs pour mieux intégrer celles des immigrants acadiens. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- Que les immigrants acadiens conservent leurs valeurs d'origine ou adoptent celles des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir les valeurs qui lui conviennent. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- Les immigrants acadiens peuvent conserver leurs valeurs d'origine en autant qu'elles n'influencent pas les valeurs des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Pas du tout en accord 1	Plutôt en désaccord 2	Un peu en accord 3	Moyennement en accord 4	Plutôt en accord 5	Beaucoup en accord 6	Entièrement en accord 7
----------------------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------------	--------------------------	----------------------------	-------------------------------

2.3) En ce qui concerne les coutumes...

- a- Les immigrants acadiens devraient abandonner leurs coutumes d'origine pour adopter les coutumes québécoises. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Que les immigrants acadiens conservent leurs coutumes d'origine ou adoptent celles des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir les coutumes qui lui conviennent. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des immigrants acadiens et de leurs coutumes. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leurs propres coutumes pour mieux intégrer les immigrants acadiens. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- Les immigrants acadiens peuvent conserver leurs coutumes d'origine tant qu'elles n'influencent pas les coutumes des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- f- Les immigrants acadiens peuvent conserver leurs coutumes d'origine tout en adoptant les coutumes des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

*Cette série de questions concerne vos opinions à l'égard des immigrants canadiens anglais maintenant établis au Québec. Un immigrant canadien anglais est une personne née au Canada (ex : en Ontario, dans l'Ouest, dans les Maritimes) et dont la langue maternelle est l'anglais et dont les ancêtres sont aussi canadiens anglais. Dans cette section, nous employons le terme **culture québécoise** pour référer à la culture des Québécois Francophones. Répondez en utilisant le code suivant:*

Pas du tout en accord 1	Plutôt en désaccord 2	Un peu en accord 3	Moyennement en accord 4	Plutôt en accord 5	Beaucoup en accord 6	Entièrement en accord 7
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2.4) En ce qui concerne la culture...

- a. Les immigrants canadiens anglais peuvent conserver leur culture d'origine tant qu'elle n'influence pas la culture des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des immigrants canadiens anglais et de leur culture. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. Les immigrants canadiens anglais peuvent conserver leur culture d'origine tout en adoptant la culture québécoise. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. Que les immigrants canadiens anglais conservent leur culture ou adoptent celle des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir la culture qui lui convient. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. Les immigrants canadiens anglais devraient abandonner leur culture d'origine pour adopter la culture québécoise. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f. Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leur propre culture pour mieux intégrer les immigrants canadiens anglais. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2.5) En ce qui concerne les valeurs ...

- a. Les immigrants canadiens anglais peuvent conserver leurs valeurs d'origine en autant qu'elles n'influencent pas les valeurs des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. Les immigrants canadiens anglais devraient abandonner leurs valeurs d'origine pour adopter les valeurs des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- c. Les immigrants canadiens anglais peuvent conserver leurs valeurs d'origine tout en adoptant les valeurs québécoises. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leurs propres valeurs pour mieux intégrer celles des immigrants canadiens anglais. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. Que les immigrants canadiens anglais conservent leur valeurs d'origine ou adoptent celles des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir les valeurs qui lui conviennent. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f. Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des immigrants canadiens anglais et de leurs valeurs. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Pas du tout en accord 1	Plutôt en désaccord 2	Un peu en accord 3	Moyennement en accord 4	Plutôt en accord 5	Beaucoup en accord 6	Entièrement en accord 7
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2.6) En ce qui concerne les coutumes...

- a. Les immigrants canadiens anglais devraient abandonner leurs coutumes d'origine pour adopter les coutumes québécoises. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. Que les immigrants canadiens anglais conservent leurs coutumes d'origine ou adoptent celles des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir les coutumes qui lui conviennent. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des immigrants canadiens anglais et de leurs coutumes. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leurs propres coutumes pour mieux intégrer les immigrants canadiens anglais. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. Les immigrants canadiens anglais peuvent conserver leurs coutumes d'origine tant qu'elles n'influencent pas les coutumes des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f. Les immigrants canadiens anglais peuvent conserver leurs coutumes d'origine tout en adoptant les coutumes québécoises. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Ce questionnaire est anonyme!

- 3) *Selon vous, jusqu'à quel point les conditions suivantes sont-elles nécessaires pour considérer une personne comme étant tout à fait **québécoise** ? Répondez à **chacune** des options suivantes en encerclant le chiffre qui correspond le mieux à votre opinion.*

Pas du tout	Très peu	Un peu	Moyennement	Assez	Beaucoup	Énormément
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

a-	Vivre et travailler au Québec.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b-	Avoir des ancêtres québécois.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c-	Connaître et parler la langue française.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d-	Connaître et parler la langue anglaise.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e-	Être né et avoir été élevé au Québec.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f-	Adhérer aux valeurs démocratiques du Québec.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g-	Respecter et obéir aux lois québécoises.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h-	Être un électeur assidu aux élections provinciales et municipales.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
i-	Être un partisan de la souveraineté du Québec.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
j-	Connaître et défendre la culture québécoise.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
k-	Être né et avoir été socialisé dans la religion catholique.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
l-	Connaître la culture anglophone du Québec.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
m-	Soutenir la diversité culturelle et ethnique du Québec.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
n-	Appuyer un régime de santé publique fort pour tous les Québécois.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
o-	Être un partisan de l'unité canadienne.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
p-	Connaître et défendre la culture canadienne.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
q-	Avoir le français québécois comme langue maternelle.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
r-	Parler le français avec un accent québécois.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4.1) Maintenant pensez à votre usage du français dans la vie de tous les jours.

- a- Je parle le français quand je suis à la maison. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Je parle le français avec mes amis(es). 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Je parle le français quand je suis au travail. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Je parle le français quand je suis à l'université. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4.2) Maintenant pensez à votre usage de l'anglais dans la vie de tous les jours.

- a- Je parle l'anglais quand je suis à la maison. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Je parle l'anglais avec mes amis(es). 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Je parle l'anglais quand je suis au travail. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Je parle l'anglais quand je suis à l'université. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5.1) Dans cette partie, nous vous demandons d'indiquer votre degré d'identification aux différents groupes ou allégeances présentés ci-dessous. Utilisez le code suivant pour répondre:

Pas du tout	Très peu	Un peu	Moyennement	Assez	Beaucoup	Énormément
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- a- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme Canadien? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme Québécois? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme francophone? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme anglophone? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme immigrant? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme Montréalais? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- g- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme bilingue? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- h- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme une personne d'une autre origine 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- (spécifiez: _____)?

5.2) En utilisant l'échelle ci-dessous, indiquez dans quelle mesure les énoncés suivants correspondent à vous, en tant que **Québécois francophone**.

Ne correspond pas du tout 1	Correspond très peu 2	Correspond un peu 3	Correspond moyennement 4	Correspond assez 5	Correspond beaucoup 6	Correspond exactement 7
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- a- Je suis heureux d'être Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- J'attache une grande valeur au fait d'être Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- C'est une bonne chose d'être Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Mon image des Québécois est positive. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6) Maintenant, pensez de nouveau à votre identité en tant que **Québécois francophone**.

Pas du tout 1	Très peu 2	Un peu 3	Moyennement 4	Assez 5	Beaucoup 6	Énormément 7
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- a- Jusqu'à quel point vous sentez-vous en sécurité *économique* en tant que Québécois? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Jusqu'à quel point vous sentez-vous en sécurité *culturelle* en tant que Québécois? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Jusqu'à quel point vous sentez-vous en sécurité *linguistique* en tant que Québécois? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Jusqu'à quel point sentez-vous que votre identité en tant que Québécois est menacée par la présence des groupes suivants établis au Québec ?

Québécois francophones	Immigrants acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick	Immigrants Canadiens anglais	Anglophones du Québec
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7) Maintenant, pensez à votre **situation personnelle** et répondez à chacun des énoncés à l'aide de l'échelle suivante :

Pas du tout en accord 1	Plutôt en désaccord 2	Un peu en accord 3	Moyennement en accord 4	Plutôt en accord 5	Beaucoup en accord 6	Entièrement en accord 7
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- a. Présentement ma situation financière personnelle est assez précaire. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. Je considère que ma situation financière est très prometteuse dans les années à venir au Québec. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. Dans les années à venir au Québec, mes chances de trouver un emploi bien rémunéré sont faibles. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d. Je considère que j'ai de bonnes chances de trouver un emploi qui correspond à mon domaine de formation au Québec dans les années à venir. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e. Tout compte fait, je considère que j'ai de bonnes chances de faire une bonne carrière dans mon domaine de formation en demeurant au Québec. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8) *Demeurer ou partir du Québec : répondez selon l'échelle suivante :*

Pas du tout 1	Très peu 2	Un peu 3	Moyennement 4	Assez 5	Beaucoup 6	Énormément 7
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- a- Jusqu'à quel point seriez-vous prêts à déménager en Acadie (Nouveau-Brunswick) pour longtemps? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Jusqu'à quel point seriez-vous prêts à déménager dans une province anglophone du Canada (ex. Alberta, Ontario) pour longtemps? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Jusqu'à quel point seriez-vous prêts à déménager aux États-Unis pour longtemps? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9) Évaluez l'importance de chacune des raisons que vous *auriez* pour décider d'émigrer à une **province anglophone du Canada** (ex : Alberta, Ontario). Répondez selon l'échelle suivante :

Pas du tout	Très peu	Un peu	Moyennement	Assez	Beaucoup	Énormément
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------|
| a. | Pour rejoindre ma famille | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b. | Pour se marier ou se rapprocher de mon partenaire | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c. | Pour obtenir un meilleur emploi | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d. | Pour éviter d'être jugé parce que je suis un francophone | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e. | Pour l'expérience de vivre dans une culture majoritairement anglophone | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f. | Pour poursuivre mes études | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| g. | Pour délaissier les tensions linguistiques du Québec | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| h. | Pour l'aventure personnelle | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| i. | Pour améliorer mon anglais | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| j. | Pour pouvoir parler en anglais au travail | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| k. | Pour m'assurer une meilleure carrière professionnelle | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| l. | Pour me joindre à la communauté majoritaire anglophone de la province | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

10) Évaluez l'importance de chacune des raisons que vous auriez pour décider d'émigrer en Acadie au Nouveau Brunswick. Répondez selon l'échelle suivante :

Pas du tout	Très peu	Un peu	Moyennement	Assez	Beaucoup	Énormément
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

a-	Pour rejoindre ma famille						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b-	Pour se marier ou se rapprocher de mon partenaire						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c-	Pour obtenir un meilleur emploi						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d-	Pour éviter d'être jugé parce que je suis un francophone						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e-	Pour l'expérience de vivre dans une culture minoritairement francophone						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f-	Pour poursuivre mes études						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g-	Pour délaisser les tensions linguistiques du Québec						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h-	Pour contribuer à la communauté minoritaire francophone acadienne et faire partie de cette communauté						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
i-	Pour améliorer mon anglais						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
j-	Pour m'assurer une meilleure carrière professionnelle						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
k-	Pour pouvoir parler français au travail						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
l-	Pour l'aventure personnelle						1	2	3	4	5	6	7

...suite

11) Conséquences possibles sur le Québec francophone de l'immigration des Canadiens-Anglais en provenance des autres provinces du Canada. Jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous en accord ou en désaccord avec les énoncés suivants ? Répondez en utilisant l'échelle suivante :

Pas du tout en accord 1	Plutôt en désaccord 2	Un peu en accord 3	Moyennement en accord 4	Plutôt en accord 5	Beaucoup en accord 6	Entièrement en accord 7
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- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Lorsque les immigrants canadiens anglais font des gains économiques au Québec, les Québécois francophones en sortent perdants économiquement | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| b. | Il est possible pour la culture québécoise de s'épanouir en présence de la culture canadienne anglaise. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| c. | Plus les immigrants canadiens anglais parlent l'anglais, moins le français peut s'épanouir au Québec. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| d. | S'il y a plus d'immigrants canadiens anglais qui occupent les meilleurs postes, cela ne veut pas dire qu'il y a moins de bons postes pour les Québécois francophones. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| e. | Permettre à la culture des immigrants canadiens anglais de s'épanouir signifie que la culture québécoise est affaiblie. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| f. | Plus il y a des opportunités d'affaires pour les immigrants canadiens anglais, moins il y en a pour les Québécois francophones. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| g. | Au Québec, il est possible pour la langue française de s'épanouir en présence de la langue anglaise. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| h. | Plus les immigrants canadiens anglais affirment leur propre culture, moins la culture québécoise a de la place pour s'épanouir. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| i. | Plus l'immigration canadienne anglaise augmente, plus la communauté francophone est menacée au Québec. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

12.1) Pour le futur, j'aimerais que le taux d'immigration au Canada...

Diminue énormément 1	Diminue beaucoup 2	Diminue un peu 3	Reste le même 4	Augmente un peu 5	Augmente beaucoup 6	Augmente énormément 7
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12.2) Pour le futur, j'aimerais que le taux d'immigration au Québec...

Diminue énormément 1	Diminue beaucoup 2	Diminue un peu 3	Reste le même 4	Augmente un peu 5	Augmente beaucoup 6	Augmente énormément 7
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12.3) Pour le futur du Québec, j'aimerais que les immigrants proviennent des endroits suivants :

Pas du tout 1	Très peu 2	Un peu 3	Moyennement 4	Assez 5	Beaucoup 6	Énormément 7
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a.	De la France (les francophones)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	Des États-Unis (les anglophones)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	De l'Ontario (les anglophones)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	De l'Ontario (les Franco-Ontariens)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	Du Nouveau-Brunswick (Acadiens francophones)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	Du Nouveau-Brunswick (les anglophones)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g.	De l'Afrique francophone	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h.	De l'Inde (locuteurs anglophones)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- 13) Nous aimerions que vous pensiez à la **fréquence de vos contacts** avec les personnes suivantes dans votre vie de tous les jours. Répondez en fonction des individus de différentes origines. En guise de rappel, un **immigrant acadien** est une personne qui est née au Nouveau-Brunswick, dont la langue maternelle est le français et dont les ancêtres sont acadiens. Si l'énoncé ne s'applique pas à votre situation, si par exemple vous n'aviez pas de voisins qui sont Acadiens, entourez le «X».

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X
Presque Jamais	Rarement	Peu souvent	Moyennement souvent	Assez souvent	Très souvent	Presque toujours	Ne s'applique pas

- a. Jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous en contact avec des **amis**...

Québécois Francophones	Anglophones du Québec	Immigrants acadiens	Immigrants canadiens anglais
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

- b. Jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous en contact avec vos **collègues de travail**...

Québécois Francophones	Anglophones du Québec	Immigrants acadiens	Immigrants canadiens anglais
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

- c. Au collège ou à l'université, jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous en contact régulier avec des **étudiants**...

Québécois Francophones	Anglophones du Québec	Immigrants acadiens	Immigrants canadiens anglais
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

14) Maintenant, nous vous demandons de penser à vos relations avec différents groupes établis au Québec. Répondez en utilisant l'échelle suivante :

Pas du tout	Très peu	Un peu	Moyennement	Assez	Beaucoup	Énormément
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14.1) Lorsque je suis en situation de contact avec des Québécois francophones, je me sens :

- a) Confiant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b) Anxieux 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c) À l'aise 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d) Insécure 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e) Attiré 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f) Méfiant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14.2) Lorsque je suis en situation de contact avec des Acadiens, je me sens :

- a) Confiant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b) Anxieux 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c) À l'aise 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d) Insécure 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e) Attiré 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f) Méfiant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14.3) Lorsque je suis en situation de contact avec des Anglophones du Québec je me sens :

- a) Confiant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b) Anxieux 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c) À l'aise 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d) Insécure 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e) Attiré 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f) Méfiant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Ce questionnaire est anonyme!

- 15) *Nous aimerions connaître vos attitudes concernant plusieurs groupes d'immigrants et de groupes ethnoculturels établis au Québec. Nous mesurons vos attitudes à l'aide d'une échelle qui va de zéro à cent, un peu comme un thermomètre. Si vous avez des attitudes **favorables** envers un groupe donné, choisissez un degré entre 50 et 100, l'attitude la plus favorable étant 100 sur l'échelle. Par contre, si vous avez des sentiments plutôt **défavorables** envers un groupe donné, choisissez un degré entre 0 et 50, l'attitude la plus défavorable sur l'échelle étant le chiffre zéro. Le chiffre 50 dénote une attitude ni favorable ni défavorable envers le groupe en question.*

100°	extrêmement favorable
90°	
80°	
70°	
60°	
50°	ni favorable, ni défavorable
40°	
30°	
20°	
10°	
0°	extrêmement défavorable

- | | | |
|----|--|-------|
| a- | Québécois francophones | _____ |
| b- | Immigrants en général | _____ |
| c- | Immigrants acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick | _____ |
| d- | Immigrants canadiens anglais | _____ |
| e- | Immigrants francophones d'Afrique | _____ |
| f- | Immigrants franco-ontariens | _____ |
| g- | Les anglophones du Québec | _____ |
| h- | Les allophones du Québec | _____ |
| i- | Immigrants francophones de France | _____ |
| j- | Immigrants anglophones des États-Unis | _____ |
| k- | Autochtones du Québec | _____ |
| l- | Les immigrants anglophones de l'Inde | _____ |

16) Voici des énoncés qui décrivent un but, souhait ou désir. Les buts, souhaits ou désirs sont des choses personnelles; chacun a des buts, souhaits ou désirs différents. Répondez en réfléchissant à ce que vous voulez faire personnellement ou au degré auquel vous voudriez pouvoir faire les choses décrites dans ces énoncés. Répondez en utilisant le code suivant :

Pas du tout en accord	Plutôt en désaccord	Un peu en accord	Moyennement en accord	Plutôt en accord	Beaucoup en accord	Entièrement en accord
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

a. Je veux agir pour augmenter la taille des communautés linguistiques suivantes dans ma région.

Québécois francophones

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Anglophones du Québec

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

b. Je souhaite faire en sorte qu'un plus grand nombre de personnes des groupes suivants puissent travailler dans le service public de ma région (ex : municipalité, santé et hôpitaux, services sociaux, gouvernement du Québec).

Québécois francophones

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Anglophones du Québec

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

c. Je veux encourager la création d'entreprises et de commerces parmi les groupes suivants dans ma région.

Québécois francophones

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Anglophones du Québec

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

d. Je veux agir afin d'augmenter le prestige et l'importance des communautés suivantes dans ma région.

Québécois francophones

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Anglophones du Québec

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

e. Je veux aider à réduire l'émigration vers les autres provinces des groupes suivants.

Québécois francophones

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Anglophones du Québec

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

f. Je veux aider à améliorer la force et l'efficacité des associations des communautés suivantes dans ma région (ex : associations culturelles, sportives, politiques).

Québécois francophones

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Anglophones du Québec

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- g. Je veux agir afin d'augmenter le prestige des langues suivantes dans ma région (à l'école, à l'université, la radio/TV, dans les entreprises, la culture, dans le service public).

Le Français
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

L'anglais
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17) Conséquences de l'immigration au Québec. Répondez en utilisant l'échelle suivante:

Pas du tout	Très peu	Un peu	Moyennement	Assez	Beaucoup	Énormément
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Jusqu'à quel point les groupes suivants établis au Québec contribuent à ...

- a- ... la vigueur de la langue française au Québec?

Immigrants acadiens	Immigrants canadiens anglais	Québécois francophones
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- b- ... la vitalité de la communauté francophone au Québec?

Immigrants acadiens	Immigrants canadiens anglais	Québécois francophones
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- c- ... la vitalité de la communauté anglophone au Québec?

Immigrants acadiens	Immigrants canadiens anglais	Québécois francophones
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- d- ... la vigueur de la langue anglaise au Québec?

Immigrants acadiens	Immigrants canadiens anglais	Québécois francophones
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- e- ... au bien-être économique au Québec?

Immigrants acadiens	Immigrants canadiens anglais	Québécois francophones
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- f- ... l'harmonie des relations entre les groupes linguistiques du Québec

Immigrants acadiens	Immigrants Canadiens anglais	Québécois francophones
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18) *La discrimination peut survenir lorsqu'une personne est maltraitée parce qu'elle est vue comme étant différente des autres. Au cours des cinq dernières années, pensez-vous avoir été victime de discrimination ou traité(e) injustement par d'autres personnes à cause de votre appartenance ethnique ou culturelle, de votre race ou de la couleur de votre peau, de votre langue ou de votre accent, ou de votre religion? Répondez en utilisant l'échelle suivante:*

Pas du tout	Très peu	Un peu	Moyennement	Assez	Beaucoup	Énormément
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- a. À quel point avez-vous personnellement été victime de discrimination dans votre milieu de travail (ou en demande d'emploi ou d'avancement)? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b. À quel point avez-vous personnellement été victime de discrimination dans un magasin, une banque ou un restaurant? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c. À quel point avez-vous personnellement été victime de discrimination à l'école et/ou à l'université? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

19) *Au cours des cinq dernières années, pour quelle(s) raison(s) pensez-vous avoir été victime de discrimination ou traité(e) injustement? Était-ce en raison de :*

Pas du tout	Très peu	Un peu	Moyennement	Assez	Beaucoup	Énormément
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- a- Votre appartenance ethnique ou culturelle? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Votre race ou la couleur de votre peau? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Votre langue maternelle et/ou votre accent? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Votre taille ou caractéristique physique/esthétique? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- Votre religion? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- Autre raison? Spécifier : _____ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Suite...

20) Répondez aux prochaines questions en fonction du code suivant :

Pas du tout 1	Très peu 2	Un peu 3	Moyennement 4	Assez 5	Beaucoup 6	Énormément 7
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- a. Selon vous, jusqu'à quel point les membres des groupes suivants établis **au Québec** sont victimes de discrimination dans leur **milieu de travail** ?

Immigrants canadiens français	Anglophones du Québec	Québécois francophones	Immigrants canadiens-anglais
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- b. Selon vous, jusqu'à quel point les membres des groupes suivants établis **au Québec** sont victimes de discrimination dans les **magasins**, les **banques**, ou les **restaurants** ?

Immigrants canadiens français	Anglophones du Québec	Québécois francophones	Immigrants canadiens-anglais
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- c. Selon vous, jusqu'à quel point les membres des groupes suivants établis **au Québec** sont victimes de discrimination en milieu **scolaire post-secondaire** (collèges communautaires, université) ?

Immigrants canadiens français	Anglophones du Québec	Québécois francophones	Immigrants canadiens-anglais
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- d. Jusqu'à quel point avez-vous des sentiments d'**empathie** envers les groupes suivants?

Immigrants canadiens français	Anglophones du Québec	Québécois francophones	Immigrants canadiens-anglais
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- e. Jusqu'à quel point avez-vous des sentiments de **sympathie** envers les groupes suivants?

Immigrants canadiens français	Anglophones du Québec	Québécois francophones	Immigrants canadiens-anglais
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- f. Jusqu'à quel point avez-vous des sentiments de **compassion** envers les groupes suivants?

Immigrants canadiens français	Anglophones du Québec	Québécois francophones	Immigrants canadiens-anglais
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

21) Jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous en accord ou en désaccord avec les énoncés suivants.
Répondez en utilisant l'échelle suivante:

Pas du tout	Très peu	Un peu	Moyennement	Assez	Beaucoup	Énormément
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- | | | |
|----|---|---------------|
| a- | Je suis motivé à ne pas avoir de préjugés envers les Anglophones du Québec en raison de mes convictions personnelles. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b- | Selon mes valeurs personnelles, utiliser des stéréotypes par rapport aux Anglophones du Québec est mal. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c- | J'essaie de cacher mes pensées négatives envers les Anglophones du Québec afin d'éviter les réactions négatives des autres. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d- | Ne pas avoir de préjugés par rapport aux Anglophones du Québec est important pour l'image que j'ai de moi-même | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e- | Si je réagissais d'une façon préjudiciable envers les Anglophones du Québec, j'aurais peur que les autres soient fâchés contre moi. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f- | J'essaie d'être perçu comme une personne qui n'a pas de préjugés envers les Anglophones du Québec anglais afin d'éviter la désapprobation des autres. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| g- | J'essaie d'agir d'une façon non préjudiciable envers les Anglophones du Québec parce que cela revêt d'une importance personnelle pour moi. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| h- | J'essaie de ne pas exprimer mes préjugés envers les Anglophones du Québec à cause de la pression des autres. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| i- | Selon mes valeurs personnelles, c'est acceptable d'utiliser des stéréotypes à l'égard des Anglophones du Québec. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| j- | Dû au climat de rectitude politique actuel, j'essaie d'être perçu comme une personne qui n'a pas de préjugés envers les Anglophones du Québec. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

Vos commentaires concernant ce questionnaire :

<p>MERCI DE VOTRE PRÉCIEUSE PARTICIPATION!!</p>
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APPENDICE E

INSTRUMENTS DE MESURE : QUESTIONNAIRE DESTINÉ AUX QUÉBÉCOIS ANGLOPHONES

**QUEBEC
SOCIAL ATTITUDE
SURVEY
2013**

This survey is anonymous!

For questions and comments concerning this survey, please contact:

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The questions in this **anonymous** survey are about your general social attitudes. Several statements will be presented, each expressing an opinion with which you may or may

not agree. There are no right or wrong answers to this questionnaire. We are interested in your spontaneous opinions only. Your task is to indicate on the scale your level of agreement concerning each statement, by circling the number on the scale that corresponds to **your opinion**. The seven point scale ranges from totally disagree to totally agree:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Totally disagree			Neutral			Totally agree

For example, you could give your opinion concerning the following statement:

Basketball is one of the most exciting sports in the world.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

If you totally agree with the statement, circle number 7;

If you totally disagree with the statement, because you think that basketball is the most boring sport in the world, circle number 1;

If you think that basketball is neither exciting nor boring, you feel neutral so circle number 4;

If you think that basketball is exciting, but not absolutely, circle either number 5 or number 6, depending on the extent to which you like basketball;

Finally, if you think that basketball is boring, but not absolutely, circle either number 2 or number 3, depending on the extent to which you dislike basketball.

We are interested in your spontaneous candid opinions. **There are no right or wrong answers to the survey questions.** Please be assured that your answers will remain totally **anonymous**. The results of the survey will be analysed statistically based on group responses, not on your individual answers.

1) General information

a- Your age:		
b- Sex:	Male: <input type="checkbox"/>	Female: <input type="checkbox"/>
c- What is your place of birth (city, province, country)?		
d- How long have you been living in Quebec? (write "Birth" if it has been since birth)		
e- In what city/village do you live at the moment? How long have you been living there?		
f- In what other cities, provinces or countries have you lived previously, and for how long in each?		
g- What is your first language?		
h- List other languages you speak.		
i- In what language did you mostly study in elementary and high school? (e.g. English, French immersion, other: please specify)		
j- In what language did you mostly study in college and/or university? (e.g. English, French, other: please specify, or not applicable: N.A.)		
k- What is the country of origin, or within Canada, the province of origin of your father ?		
l- How long has he been living in Canada and in which province(s)?		
m- What is the first language of your father and what other language(s) does he speak? (underline first language)		
n- What is the country of origin, or within Canada, the province of origin of your mother ?		
o- How long has she been living in Canada and in which province(s)?		
p- What is the first language of your mother and what other language(s) does she speak? (underline first language)		
q- Please list the cultural group(s) to which <i>YOU</i> most strongly identify with.		

2) Rate your skills in the following languages:

Not at all 1	A Little Bit 2	3	Moderately 4	5	Very well 6	Fluently 7
g-	I understand English.				1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
h-	I speak English.				1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
i-	I understand French.				1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
j-	I speak French.				1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
k-	Ability to write in English				1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
l-	Ability to write in French				1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
m-	I understand another language.		Specify: _____		1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
n-	I speak another language.		Specify: _____		1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

3) Answer each of the following questions by circling the number which best represents your language use on the scales provided below:

Never 1	Rarely 2	3	Moderately 4	5	Often 6	Always 7
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3a) Now, think about your *use of English* in your everyday life.

a-	I speak English when I am at home	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
b-	I speak English when I am with my friends.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
c-	I speak English when I am at work.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
d-	I speak English when I am in stores, banks and restaurants.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3b) Now, think about your *use of French* in your everyday life.

a-	I speak French when I am at home.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
b-	I speak French when I am with my friends.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
c-	I speak French when I am at work.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
d-	I speak French when I am in stores, banks and restaurants.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4) Answer each of the following questions by circling the number which best represents your feelings on the scales provided below:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all	A Little Bit		Moderately		Very much	Totally

- a- To what extent do you identify yourself as Canadian? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- To what extent do you identify yourself as a French Quebecer? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- To what extent do you identify yourself as a Québécois? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- To what extent do you identify yourself as an English Quebecer? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- To what extent do you identify yourself as a Montrealer? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- To what extent do you identify yourself as a bilingual? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- g- To what extent do you identify yourself as a person of immigrant background? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- h. To what extent do you identify yourself as a person from another origin 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(Specify: _____)?

5) For this question, an **English Quebecer** applies to people who currently live in Quebec, regularly use English in their everyday life and may be of multiple other linguistic, cultural or national backgrounds. Using the scale provided below, please indicate to what extent the following statements correspond to you as an **English Quebecer**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all	A Little Bit		Moderately		Very much	Totally

- a- I am happy to be an English Quebecer. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- I attribute great value to being an English Quebecer. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- It's a good thing to be an English Quebecer. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- My image of English Quebecer is positive. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Please give us your spontaneous candid opinions. There are no right or wrong answers in this survey.

6) For the purpose of these questions, **English Quebecers** are current English-speaking residents of this province who regularly use English in their everyday life. We use the term **Québécois French** culture to refer to the culture of the French majority with historical and ancestral roots in Quebec. For each statement, please provide your **opinion** by using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Totally Disagree	Disagree Very Much	Disagree Somewhat	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree Somewhat	Agree Very Much	Totally Agree

As regards my **culture** ...

- a- I wish to maintain my English Quebecer cultural heritage rather than adopt Québécois French culture. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- I wish to maintain my English Quebecer cultural heritage and also adopt key features of Québécois French culture. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- I wish to give-up my English Quebecer culture for the sake of adopting Québécois French culture. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- I do not wish to maintain my English Quebecer culture or adopt Québécois French culture as I feel uncomfortable with both cultures. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- I care little about my English Quebecer culture or Québécois French culture as it is my personal needs and aspirations which count most to me. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

As regards my **values** ...

- g- I do not wish to maintain my English Quebecer values or adopt Québécois French values as I feel uncomfortable with both cultures. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- h- I care little about my English Quebecer values or Québécois French values as it is my personal needs and aspirations which count most to me. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- i- I wish to maintain my English Quebecer values rather than adopt Québécois French values. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- j- I wish to give-up my English Quebecer values for the sake of adopting Québécois French values. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- k- I wish to maintain my English Quebecer values and also adopt key features of Québécois French values. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

As regards my **customs**

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------|
| m- | I wish to maintain my English Quebecer customs and also adopt key features of Québécois French customs. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| n- | I wish to maintain my English Quebecer customs rather than adopt Québécois French customs. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| o- | I do not wish to maintain my English Quebecer customs or adopt Québécois French customs as I feel uncomfortable with both customs. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| p- | I care little about my English Quebecer customs or Québécois French customs as it is my personal needs and aspirations which count most to me. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| q- | I wish to give-up my English Quebecer customs for the sake of adopting Québécois French customs. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

7) In your opinion, what **conditions** are *necessary* for a person to be a *true Quebecer*?

Please answer *each option* by using the following scale.

	1 Not at all	2 A little Bit	3	4 Moderately	5	6 Very Much	7 Totally
a-	To live and work in Quebec.						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
b-	To have ancestors who are English-speaking Quebecers						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
c-	To know and speak the English language.						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
d-	To know and speak the French language.						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
e-	To be born and raised in Quebec.						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
f-	To have a family name that is English Quebecer						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
g-	To have ancestors who are French Québécois.						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
h-	To respect and obey Quebec laws.						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
i-	To be a regular voter in national, provincial and municipal elections.						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
j-	To speak English with a Quebec accent.						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
k-	To know and defend English Quebecer culture.						1 2 3 4 5 6 7

l-	To be supportive of cultural and ethnic diversity across Quebec.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
m-	To be a supporter of Quebec sovereignty.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
n-	To endorse the values of democracy in Quebec.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
o-	To know and defend Québécois culture.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
p-	To be a supporter of Canadian unity.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
q-	To speak Quebec English as a mother tongue	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
r-	To be born and raised as a Christian.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
s-	To support English schooling across Quebec.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
t-	To be White.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8) For the purpose of these questions, *English Quebecers* are current English-speaking residents of this province who regularly use English in their everyday life. Please, now think about this group identity as an *English Quebecer*.

	1 Not at all	2 A Little Bit	3	4 Moderately	5	6 Very Much	7 Totally
a-	To what degree do you feel secure 'economically' as an English Quebecer?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
b-	To what degree do you feel secure 'culturally' as an English Quebecer?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
c-	To what degree do you feel secure 'linguistically' as an English Quebecer?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
d	To what degree do you feel secure 'politically' as an English Quebecer?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
e-	To what degree do you feel that your group identity as an English Quebecer is threatened by the presence of the following groups in Quebec?						
	English Quebecers	French Québécois	Arab Muslims immigrants	French-speaking migrants from the rest of Canada (ROC)		English-speaking migrants from the rest of Canada (ROC)	
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

9) Now think about your personal situation and respond to each of the statements using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Totally Disagree	Disagree Very Much	Disagree Somewhat	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree Somewhat	Agree Very Much	Totally Agree

- f. Right now, my personal financial situation is quite precarious. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- g. I think that my financial situation is quite promising in the years to come in Quebec. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- h. In the years to come, my chances of finding a well-paying job in Quebec are quite small. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- i. In the years to come, I think that I have good chances of finding a job in Quebec that corresponds to my area of training. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- j. All things considered, I think that I have good chances of building a good career in my area of training by staying in Quebec. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10) Staying or moving from Quebec. Please answer using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all	A Little Bit		Moderately		Very Much	Totally

- d- How likely are you to live in Québec for most of your adult life? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- How willing are you to live in Québec for most of your adult life? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- How willing would you be to live in the United States for most of your adult life? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- g- How willing would you be to live in a region of Canada where there are many French speakers for most of your adult life? (e.g. French regions of New Brunswick and Ontario) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- h- How willing would you be to live in a region of Quebec that is mainly English-speaking for most of your life? (e.g. West island of Montreal, Eastern townships) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- How willing would you be to live in a region of Canada that is majority English-speaking, for most of your adult life? (e.g. Ontario, Alberta, British Columbia) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11) Please rate the **importance** of each reason for your **potential migration** to a majority **English-speaking** region of Canada (ex. Ontario, Alberta, British Columbia).

	1 Not at all	2 A Little Bit	3	4 Moderately	5	6 Very Much	7 Totally
a- To join my family						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
b- To get married or be close to my partner						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
c- To get a better job						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
d- For the experience of living in an English majority culture						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
e- To get better access to health care in English						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
f- To stop living in a linguistic minority situation						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
g- To get better access to English schooling for myself (and/or my children)						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
h- To pay lower taxes						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
i- To improve my English skills						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
j- To be able to work in English						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
k- To avoid being judged because I am an English speaking Quebecer						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
l- To leave behind linguistic tensions in Quebec						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
m- To study						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	
n- For adventure						1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

12) For the purpose of these questions, **English Quebecers** are current English-speaking residents of this province who regularly use English in their everyday life. We use the term **Québécois French** culture to refer to the culture of the French majority with historical and ancestral roots in Quebec. For each statement, please provide your **opinion** by using the following scale:

	1 Totally Disagree	2 Disagree Very Much	3 Disagree Somewhat	4 Neither Agree nor Disagree	5 Agree Somewhat	6 Agree Very Much	7 Totally Agree				
j.	English Quebecers already living here lose out when Québécois French make political and economic gains in Quebec.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
k.	Allowing the French language to thrive means that the English language is weakened in Quebec.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
l.	More Québécois French in positions of power does not mean fewer good jobs for English Quebecers already living in this Province.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
m.	Quebec education laws promote French language school enrolment while restricting enrolment in English schools.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
n.	The more business opportunities are made available for Québécois French, the fewer business opportunities are available for English Quebecers already living here.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
o.	More French language hospitals and health services does not mean fewer English health services and hospitals for English Quebecers.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
p.	It is difficult for the English language to thrive when the French language expands further in Quebec.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
q.	The more the number of Québécois French increases, the more the English speaking community is threatened in Quebec.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
r.	It is possible for English Quebecer culture to thrive here in the presence of Québécois French culture.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
s.	The more Québécois French promote their own culture, the less opportunity there is for English Quebec culture to thrive.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7

You have successfully completed half the questionnaire. Please help us by completing the rest of the survey.

13) With regards to immigration, answer using the following scale.

In the future, I would like immigration to Quebec (circle one of the options below):

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
To Decrease very much	To Decrease	To decrease Somewhat	To Remain the Same	To Increase Somewhat	To Increase	To Increase Very Much

14) For the future of Quebec, I would like immigrants to settle here from the following places:

Not at all	A Little Bit		Moderately		Very Much	Totally
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

a-	From France (Francophones)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b-	From the United Kingdom (Anglophones)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c-	From French Ontario (Francophones)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d-	From English Ontario (Anglophones)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e-	From French New-Brunswick (Francophone Acadians)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f-	From English New-Brunswick (Anglophones)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g-	From countries where English is the main language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h-	From countries where French is the main language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15) We would like you to think about the **people you interact with** on a regular basis in your everyday life. Answer the following questions by using the scales provided below. If the question does not apply to your particular situation, i.e. if you do not have any friends who are French Québécois, circle the "X" (not applicable).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X
Never	Rarely		Moderately		Very Often	Always	Not applicable

a- How often are you (or were you) in contact with your **friends** who are...

English Quebecer	French Québécois
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

b- How often are you (or were you) in contact with your **work colleagues** who are

English Quebecer	French Québécois
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

c- In elementary school, high school or college/university, how often are you (or were you) in contact with other **students** who are (were)...

English Quebecer	French Québécois
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

d- How much contact would you like to have with people from the following groups in everyday life..

English Quebecer	French Québécois
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 X

16) *The following statements deal with your opinions concerning **French Canadians** who decided to settle in Quebec. These **migrants** are French-speaking individuals born in the rest of Canada (**ROC**) whose mother tongue is French and whose ancestors are also French Canadians (ex. Franco-Ontarians, Acadians in New Brunswick). For the purpose of these questions, **English Quebecers** are English-speaking residents of this province who regularly use English in their everyday life. For each statement, please provide your opinion by using the following scale:*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Totally Disagree	Disagree Very Much	Disagree Somewhat	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree Somewhat	Agree Very Much	Totally Agree

16.1) As regards the **culture** of French Canadian migrants from the **rest of Canada (ROC)**, now settled in Quebec...

- a- French Canadian migrants should give up their culture of origin for the sake of 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 adopting the culture of English Quebecers.
- b- French Canadian migrants can maintain their culture of origin as long as they do 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 not mix it with the culture of English Quebecers.
- c- French Canadian migrants should not maintain their culture of origin, nor adopt 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 the culture of English Quebecer, because, in any case, there should be fewer French Canadian migrants from the ROC in this province.
- d- French Canadian migrants should maintain their own heritage culture while also 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 adopting the culture of English Quebecers.
- e- Whether French Canadian migrants maintain their cultural heritage or adopt the 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 culture of English Quebecer makes no difference because each person is free to adopt the culture of their choice.
- f- English Quebecers should transform certain aspects of their own culture in order 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 to really integrate the culture of French Canadian migrants from the ROC.
- g- French Canadian migrants should maintain their own culture while also adopting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 the cultures of both English Quebecers and of the Québécois French.

16.2) As regards the values of French Canadian migrants from the rest of Canada (ROC), now settled in Quebec...

- a- Whether French Canadian migrants maintain their own values or adopt those of English Quebecers makes no difference because each person is free to adopt the values of their choice. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- French Canadian migrants can maintain their own values as long as they do not mix it with the values of English Quebecers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- French Canadian migrants should maintain their own values while also adopting the values of English Quebecers and those of the Québécois French. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- French Canadian migrants should maintain their own values while also adopting the values of English Quebecers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- French Canadian migrants should give up their own values for the sake of adopting those of English Quebecers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- French Canadian migrants should not maintain their own values, nor adopt those of English Quebecers, because, in any case, there should be fewer French Canadian migrants from the ROC in this province. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- g- English Quebecers should transform certain aspects of their own values in order to really integrate the values of French Canadians migrants from the ROC. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16.3) As regards the customs of French Canadian migrants from the rest of Canada (ROC) now settled in Quebec...

- a- French Canadian migrants can maintain their own customs as long as they do not mix them with those of English Quebecers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- English Quebecers should transform certain aspects of their own customs in order to really integrate the customs of French Canadian migrants from the ROC. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- French Canadian migrants should maintain their own customs while also adopting the customs of both English Quebecers and of the Québécois French. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Whether French Canadian migrants maintain their own customs or adopt those of English Quebecers makes no difference because each person is free to adopt the customs of their choice. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- French Canadian migrants should give up their own customs for the sake of adopting the customs of English Quebecers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- French Canadian migrants should not maintain their own customs, nor adopt those of English Quebecers, because, in any case, there should be fewer French Canadian migrants from the ROC in this province. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- g- French Canadian migrants should maintain their own customs while also adopting the customs of English Quebecers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Please give us your spontaneous candid opinions. There are no right or wrong answers in this survey.

17) Now we would like to know a bit more about your attitudes toward several social groups in Quebec. We are going to ask you to use a scale that ranges from 0 to 100 degrees, a bit like a thermometer. If you have favourable attitudes toward a given group, you would give the group a score somewhere between 50° and 100°, with 100° being the most favourable attitude on the scale. On the other hand, if you have an unfavourable attitude toward a given group, you would give the group a score somewhere between 0° and 50°, with 0° being the most unfavourable attitude on the scale. The 50° degree score indicates an attitude that is neither favourable nor unfavourable.

100°	extremely favourable
90°	
80°	
70°	
60°	
50°	neither favourable nor unfavourable
40°	
30°	
20°	
10°	
0°	extremely unfavourable

- | | |
|--|-------|
| a- English Quebecers | _____ |
| b- Québécois French | _____ |
| c- English-speakers from New Brunswick | _____ |
| d- English-speakers from Ontario | _____ |
| e- French-speakers from New Brunswick (Acadians) | _____ |
| f- French-speakers from Ontario (Franco-Ontarians) | _____ |
| g- French-speaking immigrants from France | _____ |
| h- French-speaking immigrants from Haiti | _____ |
| i- English-speaking immigrants from the United Kingdom | _____ |
| j- English-speaking immigrants from India | _____ |
| k- Arab Muslim immigrants | _____ |
| j- Jewish immigrants | _____ |
| k- First Nations people | _____ |

18) Here are statements that describe a goal, wish or desire. Goals, wishes or desires are personal things; each one of us has different goals, wishes or desires. When you respond, think about what you would want to do **personally** or the extent to which you would like to be able to do the things described in these statements. For the purpose of these questions, **English Quebecers** are English speakers in this province who feel attached to the English speaking community of Quebec. We use the term **Québécois French** to refer to members of the French speaking majority with historical and ancestral roots in Quebec. For each statement, please provide your **opinion** by using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all	A Little bit		Moderately		Very Much	Totally

- a. I want to act to increase the population size of the following linguistic communities in my region of Quebec.

English Quebecers

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois French

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- b. In my region of Quebec, I want to ensure that a larger number of people in the following linguistic groups can find jobs in the public service such as health care, social services, in the provincial and municipal administration.

English Quebecers

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois French

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- c. I want to encourage the creation of businesses in my region of Quebec, among the following linguistic groups.

English Quebecers

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois French

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- d. I want to act in order to increase the prestige and importance of the following linguistic communities in my region of Quebec.

English Quebecers

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois French

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- e. I want to help increase immigration of the following linguistic groups to my region of Quebec.

English speakers from
the rest of Canada (ROC)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

French speakers from
The rest of Canada (ROC)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- f. I want to help improve the strength of the following language communities in my region of Quebec.

English Quebecers

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois French

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- g. I want to act in order to increase the prestige of the following languages in my region of Quebec (at school, in university, on radio/TV, in business firms, in the government).

English

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

French

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- h. I want to join an association/organisation which will improve the strength and vitality of the following language communities in my region

English Quebecers

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois French

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- i. I want to support financially an association/organisation which will improve the strength and vitality of the following communities in my region

English Quebecers

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois French

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

19) Discrimination can occur when a person is mistreated because they are seen as different from others. You may have been a victim of discrimination or treated unjustly because of your ethnic or cultural belonging, your race or skin colour, your language or accent or your religion. In the last five years, in what settings have you been victim of discrimination? Please answer each item using the following scale.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all	A Little bit		Moderately		Very Much	Totally

- a- To what extent have you been personally a victim of discrimination in your **work** setting? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- To what extent have you been personally a victim of discrimination in **stores, banks, or restaurants**? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- To what extent have you been personally a victim of discrimination at **school and/or university** (or your children)? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- To what extent have you been personally a victim of discrimination in encounters with the **police** or security services? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20) In the last five years, for what reason(s) do you think you were a victim of discrimination or treated unjustly? Was it because of:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all	A Little bit		Moderately		Very Much	Totally

- a- Your ethnic or cultural belonging? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Your race or skin colour? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Your mother tongue or accent? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Your size or physical/aesthetic characteristics? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- Your age? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- Your religion? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- g- Another reason? Specify: _____ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

22) Please answer the following questions using the scale provided below:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all	A Little bit		Moderately		Very Much	Totally

a- To what extent do you think members of the following groups experience discrimination in their **work setting**?

English Quebecers	Québécois French	English-speaking migrants from the rest of Canada (ROC)	French-speaking migrants from the rest of Canada (ROC)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

b- To what extent do you think members of the following groups experience discrimination in **stores, banks, or restaurants**?

English Quebecers	Québécois French	English-speaking migrants from the ROC	French-speaking migrants from the ROC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

c- To what extent do you think members of the following groups experience discrimination at **school** and/or **university**?

English Quebecers	Québécois French	English-speaking migrants from the ROC	French-speaking migrants from the ROC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

d- To what extent do you think members of the following groups experience discrimination in encounters with the **police** and **security services**?

English Quebecers	Québécois French	English-speaking migrants from the ROC	French-speaking migrants from the ROC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

23) Please answer the following questions using the scale provided below:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all	A Little bit		Moderately		Very Much	Totally

a) To what extent do you feel **sympathy** toward the following groups?

English Quebecers	Québécois French	English-speaking migrants from the ROC	French-speaking migrants from the ROC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

b) To what extent do you feel **compassion** toward the following groups?

English Quebecers	Québécois French	English-speaking migrants from the ROC	French-speaking migrants from the ROC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

c) To what extent do you feel **empathy** toward the following groups?

English Quebecers	Québécois French	English-speaking migrants from the ROC	French-speaking migrants from the ROC
1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

24) For each statement, please provide your opinion by using the following scale:

	1 Totally Disagree	2 Disagree Very Much	3 Disagree Somewhat	4 Neither Agree nor Disagree	5 Agree Somewhat	6 Agree Very Much	7 Totally Agree				
A	I feel a sense of belonging to the English-speaking community of Quebec				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B	I believe that people can have multiple identities at the same time: ex. Black + Canadian + Quebecer + English-speaking				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C	I know about English-speaking communities in other regions of Quebec than my own				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
D	I feel solidarity toward English-speakers in other regions of Quebec				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
E	English-speaking Quebec is a community of communities				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
F	English Quebecers can be accepted by Francophones as dyed-in-the-wool 'Québécois'				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
G	The majority of Québécois Francophones feel that the French language is threatened by the presence of English speakers in Quebec				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
H	The majority of Québécois Francophones would like a <i>decline</i> in the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I	The majority of Québécois Francophones support the institutions of the English-speaking communities of Quebec				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
J	Québécois Francophone politicians do support the institutions of the English-speaking communities of Quebec				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
K	The majority of English Quebecers feel that the English language is threatened by the presence of French speakers in Quebec				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
L	The vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec is declining				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
M	I am aware that Canadian Official Language Act supports Francophone minorities outside Quebec and the English language minority of Quebec				1	2	3	4	5	6	7

N	Canadian languages legislation should be used more effectively to defend/enhance the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
O	The majority of English Quebecers support the quest to make French the common public language of all Quebecers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
P	It is the prevalence of French that contributes most to the original character of Montreal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Q	It is the prevalence of both French and English that contributes most to the original character of Montreal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
R	The co-existence of both French and English institutions contribute to the economic and cultural vitality of Quebec	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
S	The English-speaking communities of Quebec should be more <i>united</i> in defending/enhancing its institutions in the province	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
T	The English-speaking communities of Quebec should be more <i>militant</i> in defending/enhancing its institutions in the province	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Your comments regarding this survey:

Thank you for completing this survey.

APPENDICE F

ARTICLE 1 TEL QUE PARU DANS *JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND
MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT*



Vitality and ethnolinguistic attitudes of Acadians, Franco-Ontarians and Francophone Quebecers: two or three solitudes in Canada's bilingual belt?

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Vitality and ethnolinguistic attitudes of Acadians, Franco-Ontarians and Francophone Quebecers: two or three solitudes in Canada's bilingual belt?

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ABSTRACT

Do French-Canadian (FC) minorities in New Brunswick and Ontario remain as committed as majority Francophone Quebecers in developing their vitality within Canada's bilingual belt? FCs constitute host communities for interprovincial migrants of FC and English-Canadian (EC) background who can bolster or weaken the vitality of FCs. How FCs and ECs welcome each other as internal migrants has important consequences for Canadian nation-building, and harmonious relations between Francophones and Anglophones as official language communities. Questionnaires were completed by three groups of FC undergraduates: Francophone Quebecers ($n = 204$), Acadians ($n = 227$), and Franco-Ontarians ($n = 227$). All FC respondents identified positively as Francophones while declaring strong language skills in French and reported using more French than English in their everyday lives. FC respondents were more willing to personally mobilize to improve their French-Canadian vitality than outgroup EC vitality. FC participants felt more threatened by the presence of EC than FC migrants, preferred Francophone more than Anglophone migrants, and perceived that FC migrants contributed more to their ingroup vitality than did EC migrants. Implications are discussed based on the 'two solitudes' and 'three solitudes' hypotheses, and on the relationship between intergroup threat, zero-sum beliefs and the rejection by FCs of EC migrants.

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Ethnolinguistic vitality;
language minorities; two-
solitudes; intergroup threat;
zero-sum beliefs

Introduction

In 1969, the Canadian federal parliament adopted the Official Languages Act making English and French co-official languages across Canada while providing bilingual federal services for French and English-Canadians (ECs) where numbers warranted (Fortier 1994). In 1971, the federal government adopted the Canadian Multiculturalism Act within the Canadian French–English bilingual framework and in 1982 adopted the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* which enshrined English and French as the two official languages of Canada. In 2003, the Federal government launched the roadmap for Canada's official languages by investing \$900 million for 2003–2008, then renewing the funding with \$1.1 billion for 2008–2013 and \$1.3 billion for 2013–2018 to promote linguistic duality and enhance the vitality of official language minority communities (Canadian Heritage 2013).

Despite Canada's considerable support for bilingualism and its French and English minority communities, the Commissioner of Official Languages noted that there is still much work to be done to make the official bilingualism policy work in Canada (Fraser 2006). Some critics in English-Canada

question the cost and necessity of official bilingualism supporting French minorities, while others challenge its relevance considering the multilingual reality of non-official language communities across Canada (Ricento 2013). For their part, Quebec Francophone nationalists reject official bilingualism, deeming it 'too little too late' and strive instead for a sovereign Quebec that is unilingual French (Corbeil 2007). Federal support for French and English minorities across Canada was designed to ensure the equal development of these official language minorities in an effort to preserve Canadian unity threatened by Quebecois French separatism. A recent public opinion survey conducted across Canada for the Association of Canadian Studies showed that 63% of Francophones agreed that the Federal bilingualism policy kept the country united compared to 31% of Anglophones. It is in Quebec that this positive view of Federal bilingualism was more widely endorsed relative to the other Canadian provinces (Bilingualism Doesn't Unite Canada, Poll Finds, March 8, 2008).

It is in Canada's bilingual belt, comprised of the provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario, where one finds the most French-English bilinguals in the country. According to the 2011 Canadian census, the proportion of Canadians who have knowledge of both official languages is 42.6% in Quebec, 33.2% in New Brunswick and 11.0% in Ontario. In New Brunswick and Ontario, French-Canadians (FCs) are virtually all French/English bilinguals and remain double linguistic minorities at both the provincial and Canadian levels. In Quebec, FCs have a dual status: they constitute the dominant language majority within the province but remain a linguistic minority nationally in Canada. ECs in Quebec also have a dual status as they constitute a linguistic minority provincially while remaining part of the dominant linguistic majority across Canada. In Quebec, while 36% of majority FCs (80%) are bilingual, as many as 70% of minority ECs (8%) are bilinguals.

It is noteworthy that French and ECs across the bilingual belt constitute host communities not only for international immigrants but also for FC and EC interprovincial migrants from other Canadian provinces. Interprovincial migration has been shown to have a significant economic, social and demolingustic impact on Francophone communities in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario (Coulombe 2006). How FCs and ECs welcome each other as internal migrants has important consequences for Canadian nation-building, social cohesion and harmonious relations between Francophones and Anglophones as official language communities. Also, just as host-immigrant community relations are related to how international immigrants integrate their host society, they may also be relevant in how internal migrants integrate their new provincial setting (Bourhis 2001a). In Canada, the two official language minorities increasingly rely on attracting newcomers to help sustain the vitality of their respective communities (Gallant 2007).

The goal of the current study is to evaluate the attitudes of Francophone Quebecers, New Brunswick Acadians and Franco-Ontarians towards EC and FC interprovincial migrants. More specifically, the study explores how minority and majority Francophone groups differ in their perception of EC and FC internal migrants as posing a threat or contributing to their respective own-group vitality; and whether vitality concerns are relevant in explaining Francophone attitudes towards EC and FC migrants. The following section provides a brief account of French/English group relations in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario.

Historical and sociolinguistic context

Quebec

Based on the Canadian census Francophones in Quebec number 6,164,745 (78.9%), an increase in absolute numbers from 4,860,410 (80.7%) in 1971 (Statistics Canada 2011). Those of immigrant background whose first language is neither French nor English, known as allophones, increased their share of the Quebec population, from 6.3% (379,437) in 1971 to 12.8% (1,003,545) in 2011. During the same period, the Anglophone population dropped from 13% (788,830) to 8.3% (647,655) (Statistics Canada 2011).

The defeat of the French army on the Plains of Abraham in Quebec by British forces in 1763 known as *la Conquête* (the conquest) is still invoked by Francophone Quebecers as marking the end of French rule and the ensuing ascendancy of the English speakers in what became known as the Dominion of Canada. Up to the 1960s, Francophone Quebecers were an economically and socially disadvantaged majority who nevertheless succeeded in controlling their French municipal and provincial public institutions. As Francophone Quebecers became increasingly educated, secular and wealthy following the modernization effects of the 'Quiet Revolution', the French language emerged as the principal symbol of Quebecois identity. Quebecois nationalists highlighted the threatened position of the French language in a province increasingly integrated economically and politically within Anglo-Canada. The first separatist government adopted, in 1977, the *Charter of the French language* (Bill 101), designed to increase the status of French relative to English in provincial institutions and in the work world (Corbeil 2007). Francophone Quebecers succeeded in fully controlling the provincial public administration, state institutions such as education, health care, the judiciary, and most of the economic, political and cultural institutions of the province (Bourhis 2001b). Despite this ascendancy, however, Quebec nationalists nurtured a feeling of linguistic threat to French by highlighting the minority position of the French language and its speakers in Canada (22%) and North America (2%).

Ideologically, to legitimize Quebec sovereignty, Quebecois separatists dismissed one million FCs living in communities across the rest of Canada (ROC) as minorities bound to assimilate linguistically to the English-Canadian majority in the ROC, thereby eliminating their burden of responsibility and solidarity towards them (Harvey 1995). Quebecois nationalists asserted the Canada-Quebec divide as permanent and edified Quebec as the last bastion of the French-Canadian nation, actions which marginalized Acadians and Franco-Ontarians minorities in the ROC (Thériault 1999).

When it comes to the presence of diverse groups within Quebec, attitude studies have revealed that Francophone Quebecers endorsed less favourable attitudes towards immigrants who are visible minorities and/or whose linguistic background is English rather than French (Montreuil and Bourhis 2004). Francophone Quebecers also hold ambivalent attitudes towards the Quebec Anglophone minority (Bourhis, Barrette, and Moriconi 2008). It should be pointed out that many feel linguistically threatened as they tend to focus on the power of attraction of English relative to French, while ignoring the gradual decline of Quebec's Anglophone minority (Bourhis 2012).

New Brunswick

With a population of 240,455 French mother tongue speakers, Acadians represent 32.5% of the New Brunswick population, down from 33.8% (214,720) in 1971 (Statistics Canada 2011). However, the demographic vitality of Francophone communities within New Brunswick is bolstered by the fact that 80% of Acadians reside in regions of the province where they are linguistic majorities (Lepage, Bouchard-Coulombe, and Chavez 2011).

Acadians are descendants of Francophone inhabitants who suffered *Le Grand Dérangement*. From 1755 to 1762, the majority of Acadians were deported by the British army for failing to swear allegiance to the British Crown, an incident still highly significant for many Acadians today (Laxer 2007). Following the adoption of anti-French/anti-Catholic laws up to the early twentieth century, Acadians created numerous associations to defend the vitality of their French cultural communities. It was not until the 1960s, when the first Acadian was elected Premier of New Brunswick, that the Acadian minority gained institutional support in education, health and social services. The Université de Moncton and a French-language hospital were built in 1963, and the New Brunswick legislature adopted the 1969 *Official Languages Act* which gave equal status to English and French, and equal rights and privileges to English and French speakers in most domains under provincial authority. In 1981, the New Brunswick government adopted *Bill 88*, an Act Recognizing the Equality of the Two Official Linguistic Communities in New Brunswick, which was later incorporated into the *Canadian Charter*. These laws enshrined the French primary and secondary school system for Acadians across the province, thus giving them full institutional control of basic education.

Though there was linguistic and cultural convergence between Quebecois and Acadians for many decades, Acadians sought to distinguish themselves in response to the intensification of Quebecois nationalism, which led Quebec to deny its historic ties to Francophones from the ROC (Thériault and Meunier 2008). By the 1980s, Acadians denounced the cultural and linguistic dominance imposed by Francophone Quebecers and mobilized to develop their own institutional vitality as Acadians in New Brunswick (Thériault 1999).

Ontario

Franco-Ontarians numbered 482,350 people in 1971, representing 6.3% of the Ontarian population, dropping to 4.4% (561,160) in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2011). While only 14% of Franco-Ontarians live in a region of Ontario where they comprise the majority, most live in areas where they account for less than 30% of the regional population (Corbeil and Lafrenière 2010). Franco-Ontarians were concentrated in northern regions of the province, but with the decline of the forestry and mining industries, many moved to southern Ontario, where they constitute smaller isolated regional minorities (Gilbert 2010).

The Franco-Ontarian community grew thanks to several waves of FC migrants, mostly from Quebec. Franco-Ontarians long struggled to defend their institutional vitality as exemplified by the fight against Regulation 17, adopted by the Ontario Government in 1912, which banned the teaching of French in all public schools (Bock and Gervais 2004). Though Regulation 17 was repealed in 1927, French-language schools in Ontario were not officially recognized under the provincial Education Act until 1968. Ontario accepted Section 23 of the Canadian Charter, which stipulated that official language minorities have the right to have their children educated in English or French anywhere in Canada if their parents or grandparents were educated in that language or if they learned it as a first language.

In 1986, the Ontario legislature adopted *Bill 8*, which guarantees a number of provincial government services in French in designated areas of the province and recognizes the right to use both English and French in the Ontario legislature. Franco-Ontarians benefit from a French primary and secondary school system in most regions of the province where Franco-Ontarian communities live. After a long struggle, Franco-Ontarians achieved full governance over their education institutions at primary and secondary levels in 1997 and created 12 French-language school boards (Bock and Gervais 2004). One French unilingual college and two French/English bilingual universities in Ottawa and Sudbury also contribute to institutional vitality. However, the drawing power of English in Ontario and the frequency of French/English mixed marriages are seen as contributing to the diminishing proportion of Franco-Ontarians in the province (Mougeon and Beniak 1994).

Overall, the proportion of Francophones in the ROC dropped from 6% (930,000) of Canada's population in 1971 to 5% in 1991 (969,000), and 4% (1,007,815) in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2011). Francophone minorities in the ROC face difficulties in maintaining their demographic presence due to at least three factors (Mougeon 2014): (1) international immigrants prefer to integrate in the English rather than in the French host communities; (2) the decrease in the birth rate of Francophones from the 1970s to the present; (3) the weak intergenerational transmission of the French language, especially as a result of French-English mixed marriages where English becomes the home language. For Francophone minorities in the ROC, bilingual identity is becoming more salient especially among Francophone youth, whereby a more Franco-dominant or Anglo-dominant dual identity emerges depending on the vitality of the regional Francophone community (Landry, Allard, and Deveau 2010).

Theoretical framework

Ethnolinguistic vitality

The Canadian government publishes reports and studies which attest to the importance of the ethnolinguistic vitality framework for describing and analysing the prospects of Francophone and

Anglophone minority communities in Canada (Commissioner of Official Languages 2015; Johnson and Doucet 2006). This framework has been institutionalized by the federal government in the *Official Languages Act* which states in its preamble: '... Whereas the Government of Canada is committed to enhancing the vitality and supporting the development of English and French linguistic minority communities ...'. Also, the concept of vitality is now an integral part of the vocabulary of many observers and players in the political, academic and community spheres (Corbeil, Grenier, and Lafrenière 2007).

The vitality of a language community is defined as 'that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup settings' (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977, 308). The term 'ethnolinguistic vitality' relates to the strength of language communities within multilingual settings as determined by three broad dimensions of sociostructural variables: demography, institutional support and status.

Demographic variables are related to the absolute number of members composing the language group and their distribution throughout the regional or national territory. They also include birth rate, age pyramid, exogamy, immigration and emigration. Taken together, such demographic variables offer the 'strength in numbers' that can be used as a legitimizing tool for granting linguistic minorities the institutional support needed to maintain and transmit their language across the generations as developing linguistic communities.

Institutional support, which is vital to a community for maintaining language and culture in multilingual settings, is defined as the degree of control a linguistic community commands over state and private institutions. Language minorities and their leaders struggle to secure the institutional support they need to control and use their language within formal institutions, such as education and health care. In turn, institutional support promotes the use and transmission of the minority language, thus contributing to demographic vitality (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977).

Language communities that have maintained their demolingistic strength and achieved institutional support gains are also likely to benefit from social status, including language laws that recognize the minority language as an official language of the region or state (Bourhis 2001a). Variables related to this prestige dimension of vitality include socio-historical status within the state, current status as a culturally and economically vibrant community, and the prestige of its language and culture locally, nationally and worldwide. The vitality framework has been used to compare and contrast the strength and weaknesses of linguistic minorities and majorities, and to ascertain their 'relative wellness' using key demographic and institutional support dimensions in settings such as Canada and Europe (Bourhis and Landry 2012).

How speakers perceive subjectively the vitality of their own language community may be as important as their objective vitality (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981). Overall, studies using the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire have shown that perceptions of ingroup and outgroup vitality or, *exocentric beliefs*, were in line with objective assessments of group vitality though systematic motivational biases in vitality perceptions have been identified in reviews of existing research (Abrams, Barker, and Giles 2009; Harwood, Giles, and Bourhis 1994).

Egocentric beliefs are made up of goal beliefs concerning motivations to improve ingroup/outgroup vitality and can be assessed using the 'beliefs about ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire' (BEVQ; Allard and Landry 1986). Minority group members may perceive that their own group vitality is weak (*exo-beliefs*) relative to a high-vitality language majority but may nevertheless endorse goal beliefs (*ego-beliefs*) in favour of mobilizing personally to improve their own group vitality through collective actions to enhance institutional support for their language. Vitality studies have shown that *ego-beliefs* tend to be better predictors of language attitudes and language behaviours than general *exo-beliefs* (Allard and Landry 1994).

Usually, language communities are more likely to mobilize to enhance the vitality of their own group than to act in favour of outgroup vitality. We expect that FCs in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario may accept or reject FC/EC interprovincial migrants depending on how such migrants are seen to contribute to their own group vitality.

Zero-sum beliefs

According to the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict, perception of group competition for limited resources is related to negative attitudes towards immigrants (Esses, Jackson, and Armstrong 1998). People who adhere to 'zero-sum' beliefs perceive that migrants and linguistic minorities are competing with them for scarce resources that are objective (e.g. jobs, language services) and/or symbolic (e.g. values, religion). A study conducted among English-speaking citizens of Australia and Canada showed that zero-sum beliefs were linked to perceptions of international immigrants as cheaters and to negative emotions towards them (Louis, Esses, and Lalonde 2013). In this study, we expect that strong adherence to zero-sum beliefs will be associated with Francophone respondent rejection of ECs as migrants perceived as undermining their Francophone community vitality.

Research objectives and expectations

The goal of the present study is to survey FCs in the three French-English 'bilingual belt' provinces with regard to: (1) preferences for FC rather than EC migrants from Canada and (2) the strategic perception that FC migrants contribute more to their Francophone vitality than EC migrants.

Given the double minority status of Franco-Ontarians and New Brunswick Acadians, and the dual status of Francophone Quebecers, we formulate three competing hypotheses. First, the *two solitudes hypothesis* posits that, in the three settings, Francophone host community members will prefer Canadian migrants from out of province who are FC more than those who are EC. FC migrants are seen as more valued than EC migrants given past and present rivalries between Francophones and Anglophones in each of the three provinces. FC migrants are also more likely to be perceived as contributing to French vitality than migrants who are EC.

The *three solitudes hypothesis* is based on historical divergence that exists not only between rival FC and EC communities but also between FC communities of Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario which developed their distinctive cultural identities in the last few decades. We predict that FCs from each province will prefer their French provincial ingroup as the most culturally authentic contributors to their ingroup vitality relative to FC migrants from the other two provinces of the bilingual belt.

Our third competing hypothesis is based on the *common ingroup identity* model (Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kafati 2000) which proposes that shared category membership is a key factor in reducing prejudice and promoting intergroup acceptance. Recategorization can be achieved by drawing attention to one or several common superordinate – more inclusive – group memberships. In this study, Francophone Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians may perceive that they share a common linguistic/cultural identity with all FCs as well as a common superordinate national identity as Canadians including both FCs and ECs. Hypothesis three posits that the three groups of FCs will prefer to receive EC interprovincial migrants as much as FC migrants and perceive them to be equal contributors to their respective ingroup vitality.

Method

Participants

The study focused on undergraduates between 18 and 35 years of age who met the following criteria: they had French as their mother tongue and both their parents were born in Canada and knew French. The Quebecois, Acadian and Franco-Ontarian participants were born and lived in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario, respectively. The final sample was made up of 658 participants: 204 Francophone Quebecers, 227 Acadians from New Brunswick and 227 Franco-Ontarians. There were 443 females and 214 males with an average overall age 21.9 years.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from the social sciences and education faculties at the Université du Québec à Montréal in Quebec, the Université de Moncton in New Brunswick and the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University in Ontario. They received a folder containing two questionnaires written in French and were instructed to select the single questionnaire that best corresponded to their personal situation. One questionnaire was pertinent for undergraduates who self-categorized as belonging to the Francophone host community in their respective province, while the other was pertinent to those who self-categorized as first- or second-generation immigrants settled in the province. Only those who completed the Francophone host community questionnaire were included in the final sample as per the criteria described above. Undergraduates completed the questionnaire during class time, returned both questionnaires in the folder, and were fully debriefed in class.

Measures

All questions were answered in French on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = totally disagree; 7 = totally agree) unless otherwise specified. The following scales were used to compare and contrast Francophone undergraduates recruited in New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, as well as to test key hypotheses proposed in the study.

The *Multiple Identification* scale (Montreuil and Bourhis 2004) with national and linguistic groups was measured for each of the following items: 'To what extent do you identify as: Canadian, Quebecois or Acadian or Franco-Ontarian, Francophone/Anglophone/bilingual, immigrant'. The related *Quality of Ingroup Identification* scale included four items such as: 'I am happy to be Quebecois' and 'It's a good thing to be Quebecois' (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$ to $.96$ across the three groups of respondents).

The *Linguistic Skills* scale consisted of four items that assessed the extent to which respondents understand/speak French and English, its C. α ranging from $.62$ to $.80$ for French and $.84$ to $.88$ for English across the three respondent groups. The *Language Use* scale was comprised of eight items that measured the extent to which participants used French and English at home, with their friends, at work and in college/university (all participant groups considered, C. α = $.58$ – $.80$ for French; $.70$ – $.80$ for English).

The *Individual Network of Ethnolinguistic Contacts* (INEC; Landry and Bourhis 1997) measured the respondent frequency of contact with Francophone and Anglophone friends, colleagues and classmates who are members of four target groups (the ingroup and three outgroups). The outgroups consisted of ECs and two others among the following, depending on the host community at hand: Francophone Quebecers, Acadians, Franco-Ontarians and Quebec Anglophones. The C. α of the INEC scale obtained with the three groups of respondents ranged from $.56$ to $.72$.

The *Ego-Vitality* scale (short BEVQ scale; Allard and Landry 1986) measured to what extent Francophone respondents are ready to mobilize personally in order to improve the vitality of their own language community. This scale included seven items pertaining to demographic strength (2), institutional control (3) and status (2) regarding two target groups: the ingroup (Francophone Quebecers, Acadians or Franco-Ontarians) and an outgroup: Quebecois Anglophones in the Quebec context and ECs in the Acadian and Ontarian contexts. (C. α = $.87$ – $.92$ for ingroup; $.86$ – $.92$ for outgroup).

The *Immigration Preference* scale asked participants to express to what extent they would like migrants to come from various regions, within and outside Canada. Depending on the provincial setting, respondents rated how much they wanted migrants whose regions of origin were the following: French-Canadian migrants from Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick, Francophone immigrants from France and Africa, English-Canadian migrants from Ontario and New Brunswick, Anglophone immigrants from the USA.

The *Contribution to Vitality* scale assessed the extent to which participants felt that their ingroup and FC vs. EC migrants established in their own province contribute to the vitality of their own Francophone community and that of the Anglophone community as well as to the vitality of the French and English language in their own province. All target groups combined, the C. alpha of this scale ranged from .82–.88 among Francophone Quebecers, .74–.83 among Acadians and .84–.92 among Franco-Ontarians.

The *Security* scale measured feelings of economic, cultural and linguistic security as a Quebecois, Acadian or Franco-Ontarian, respectively, in each province (Bourhis and Dayan 2004). An item measured the feeling that respondents' identity – as Quebecois, Acadian or Franco-Ontarian – was threatened by the presence of the ingroup and three outgroups which, included EC migrants and, depending on the host community at hand, two FC migrants among the following: Francophone Quebecers, Acadians, Franco-Ontarians and Quebecois Anglophones (C. alpha for outgroup items = .62–.76).

The *Zero-Sum Belief* scale measured the degree to which respondents felt that Francophone and Anglophone communities compete for scarce resources and that Francophones felt that their community vitality is undermined by the presence of rival EC migrants (Eques, Jackson, and Armstrong 1998). This scale is composed of nine items including positively and negatively coded statements such as 'The more English-Canadian immigrants there are, the more the Francophone community is threatened in Quebec.' and 'It is possible for Quebecois culture to thrive here in the presence of English-Canadian culture.' The C. alpha of this scale was .82 among Francophone Quebecers, .86 for Acadians and .77 for Franco-Ontarians.

The *Intercultural Anxiety* scale measured to what extent respondents felt insecure, wary, anxious, confident, attracted and at ease (positive items were reverse-scored) when in contact with outgroup members (Gao and Gudykunst 1990). For each cultural context, there were three target groups: Francophone Quebecers/Acadians/Anglophone Quebecers (C. alpha = .80–.86) in Quebec; Francophone Quebecers/ECs /Franco-Ontarians (C. alpha = .74–.89) in New Brunswick; Franco-Ontarians/Francophone Quebecers/ ECs (C. alpha = .72–.83) in Ontario.

Results

One-Way or Repeated Measures (RM) ANOVAs were conducted to compare FC responses in the three provinces on the various measures. Unless otherwise stated, all differences described below are statistically significant ($p < .01$).

Social-psychological profile of the three FC groups

As shown in Table 1, the three Francophone groups identified strongly and positively with their respective provincial ingroup; they also strongly identified as Francophones, while reporting very strong French-language skills. However, unlike the Franco-Ontarians and Acadians who identified as much as Canadians as with their regional provincial ingroup, Francophone Quebecers identified more strongly as Quebecois than as Canadians. Franco-Ontarians had stronger Anglophone identity and weaker Francophone identity than Acadians and Francophone Quebecers. Franco-Ontarians also identified the most as bilingual, and reported the strongest English language skills/use, followed by Acadians and Francophone Quebecers. Conversely, French language use was most frequent by Francophone Quebecers, and least frequent by Franco-Ontarians. When it came to their INEC, FCs from each setting reported more contacts with ingroup Francophones than with ECs. Quebecois and Acadians reported more contact with Francophone ingroup speakers than did the Franco-Ontarians. Conversely, contact with ECs was most frequent among Franco-Ontarians, followed by Acadians and Francophone Quebecers.

Table 1. Identity profile, language skills/usage and individual network of ethnolinguistic contact of the three participant groups: Francophone Quebecers, Acadians in New Brunswick and Franco-Ontarians.

	Francophone Quebecers	Acadians	Franco- Ontarians	Main effects		Interaction effect
	<i>n</i> = 204 Mean	<i>n</i> = 227 Mean	<i>n</i> = 227 Mean	Within-subject (dependent measure) <i>F</i> , <i>df</i> , η^2	Francophone participant group <i>F</i> , <i>df</i> , η^2	<i>F</i> , <i>df</i> , η^2
Identity				905.03***, 2, .58	127.75***, 2, .28	87.33***, 5, .21
Canadian	4.29 _b	6.71 _a	6.72 _a			
Francophone	6.81 _a	6.67 _a	6.26 _b			
Provincial	6.70 _a	6.18 _b	6.16 _b			
Anglophone	1.98 _b	2.48 _b	3.95 _a			
Bilingual	4.29 _c	5.57 _b	6.29 _a			
Quality of identity	5.65 _b	5.69 _b	6.16 _a		11.93**, 2, .035	
Language skills				395.98***, 1, .38	26.44***, 2, .075	127.29***, 2, .28
French	6.98 _a	6.81 _b	6.51 _c			
English	5.18 _c	5.85 _b	6.52 _a			
Language usage				1488.05***, 1, .69	22.27***, 2, .064	271.12***, 2, .45
French	6.79 _a	6.49 _b	5.07 _c			
English	2.24 _b	2.59 _b	4.59 _a			
INEC				1076.86***, 1, .63	48.90, 2, .13	170.70**, 2, .35
Ingroup	6.75 _a	6.58 _a	6.09 _b			
EC outgroup	3.42 _c	3.98 _b	5.59 _a			
Ego-vitality				1058.42***, 1, .60	5.57**, 2, .017	23.47***, 2, .027
Ingroup	5.60 _{ab}	5.94 _a	5.53 _b			
EC outgroup ^a	3.18 _b	3.17 _b	3.89 _a			

^aFor Francophone Quebecers, the target group is Quebecois Anglophones specifically.

Note: Mean scores on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at $p < .01$ ($a > b > c$). RM ANOVAs, F tests represent a significant effect at ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Ego-vitality

All FC participants expressed a stronger will to mobilize in favour of their own group vitality than for the EC outgroup (see also Table 1). Acadians were more willing to mobilize for improving their own-group vitality on the institutional support and status fronts than were Franco-Ontarians and Francophone Quebecers. Compared to Acadian and Francophone Quebecers, Franco-Ontarians were least polarized in their willingness to act in favour of their FC ingroup vs. EC outgroup vitality (difference scores = 2.77/2.42/1.64, respectively).

Immigration preferences

As can be seen in Table 2, FC respondents from each setting expressed a stronger preference for FC than EC migrants to their own province. Moreover, they preferred Francophone immigrants coming from France or Africa as much as Francophone migrants coming from within Canada. Therefore, French-speaking migrants – whether internal or international – were preferred over founding group Anglophone migrants of Canadian ancestry. Only Francophone Quebecers preferred English-speaking migrants from Canada more than immigrants from the USA.

Linguistic security, threat and vitality contributions of FC and EC migrants

As shown in Table 2, feelings of linguistic security about the current state of the French language were consistently lower relative to economic and cultural security for both Francophone Quebecers and Acadians. For Franco-Ontarians, linguistic and cultural security was not significantly different. Notably, majority Francophone Quebecers felt less linguistically secure than did Franco-Ontarians and no more secure linguistically than did Acadians. Quebecois Francophone respondents also felt less secure culturally than did Franco-Ontarians and Acadians.

Table 2. Desire for Internal/International migrants, feelings of security, threat, intercultural anxiety and endorsement of zero-sum beliefs expressed by three participant groups: Francophone Quebecers, Acadians in New Brunswick and Franco-Ontarians.

	Francophone Quebecers	Acadians	Franco- Ontarians	Main effects		Interaction effect
	<i>n</i> = 204 Mean	<i>n</i> = 227 Mean	<i>n</i> = 227 Mean	Within-subject (dependent measure) <i>F</i> , <i>d.f.</i> , η^2 ^a	Francophone participant group <i>F</i> , <i>d.f.</i> , η^2 ^a	<i>F</i> , <i>d.f.</i> , η^2 ^a
Desire for				352.35***, 2, 63, .35	15.29***, 2, .045	6.62***, 5, 25, .020
FC migrants	5.00 _a	4.77 _{ab}	4.63 _b			
EC migrants	3.78 _a	3.00 _b	3.74 _a			
Immigrants from France	5.22 _a	4.76 _b	4.75 _b			
Immigrants from Francophone Africa	4.91 _a	4.47 _a	4.56 _a			
Immigrants from USA	3.59 _a	2.74 _b	3.06 _b			
Security				114.87***, 1, 92, .15	27.17***, 2, .077	31.40***, 3, 82, .087
Economic	5.00 _b	4.60 _c	5.39 _a			
Cultural	4.40 _b	5.15 _a	4.97 _a			
Linguistic	3.60 _b	3.99 _b	4.91 _a			
Feeling of threat in the presence of				537.15***, 1, .45	4.98**, 2, .015	4.98**, 2, .015
FC migrants	1.56 _b	2.93 _a	2.72 _a			
EC migrants	3.63 _a	5.02 _a	4.26 _b			
Intercultural anxiety				15.88**, 1, .024	15.33**, 2, .045	42.78**, 2, .17
FC outgroup	2.03 _a	2.62 _b	3.04 _b			
EC outgroup	2.73 _{ab}	3.05 _b	2.57 _b			
Zero-sum beliefs	3.54 _b	3.87 _a	3.58 _b		6.13**, 2, .018	

FC, French-Canadian and EC, English-Canadian.

Note: Mean scores on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at $p < .01$ ($a > b > c$). RM ANOVAs, F tests represent a significant effect at ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

FC respondents from each province expressed a greater feeling of threat in the presence of EC than in the presence of FC migrants. Acadians felt most threatened by the presence of EC migrants, followed by Franco-Ontarians and Francophone Quebecers. Compared to Acadians, Franco-Ontarians claimed to feel less intercultural anxiety when in contact with ECs, but more anxiety when in contact with Francophone Quebecers. Acadians adhered slightly more to zero-sum beliefs than did their Quebecois and Franco-Ontarian counterparts.

As seen in Figure 1(a)–(c), local ingroup FCs were seen to contribute most to Francophone vitality and EC migrants the least, this being the case in each province. Finally, FC respondents in each setting rated FC migrants as contributing less to their respective Francophone vitality than their own local provincial ingroup. Franco-Ontarians were least polarized in their perception that FC vs. EC outgroups contributed to their French vitality (difference scores = 3.83/3.96/2.71, respectively).

Mediation analyses

Given that feeling of threat is a strong predictor of intergroup attitudes (Stephan and Stephan 2000), we combined the three respondent groups ($n = 658$) and tested the correlation between feeling of threat from ECs and preference for EC migrants. Significant correlations indicated in Figure 2 show that the more FCs felt threatened by the presence of ECs, the less they wanted them as migrants to their own province ($r = -.37$). Also, the more threatened FCs felt, the more they perceived relations between Francophones and Anglophones as zero-sum ($r = +.46$). Moreover, the more respondents saw French-English relations as zero-sum, the less they wanted ECs as migrants ($r = -.39$). In contrast, the more ECs were seen to contribute to French vitality, the more FC respondents wanted ECs as migrants ($r = +.33$). Mediation Sobel tests revealed that zero-sum beliefs

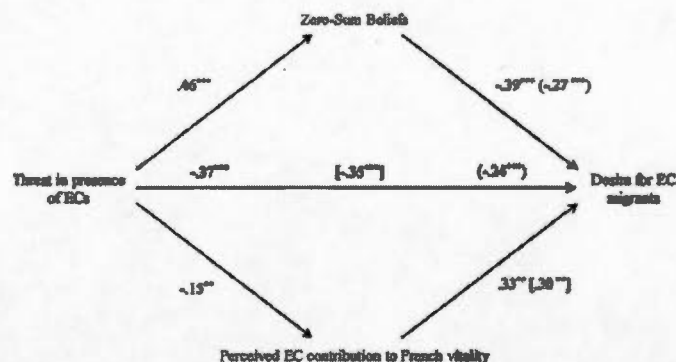


Figure 2. The role of zero-sum beliefs and perception that ECs contribute to French vitality in mediating the relation between threat in presence of ECs and preference for EC migrants. Note: Pearson correlations are indicated on figure paths. Where applicable, partial correlations are also indicated, with [] showing the partial correlations obtained when threat in presence of ECs and perception that ECs contribute to French vitality are used together to predict preference for EC migrants, and () showing the partial correlations obtained when threat and zero-sum beliefs are used together to predict preference for EC migrants.

** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians were quite similar in identifying strongly and positively as Francophones and as members of their respective provincial FC ingroups. They each declared very strong language skills in French and reported using more French than English in their everyday lives. Their INEC was greater with FCs than ECs. Francophone Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians felt less secure linguistically than economically. Each group was more willing to personally mobilize to improve their own provincial Francophone vitality than to mobilize for Anglophone vitality.

Did the majority vs. minority status of the three Francophone groups affect their respective social-psychological profile? A remarkable finding is that, though Francophone Quebecers constitute the dominant high-vitality majority community in their province, their intergroup perceptions were similar to those of lower-vitality Acadians and Franco-Ontarians. Though Francophone Quebecers felt least threatened by ECs, they felt less culturally secure than the other two groups, less linguistically secure than Franco-Ontarians and as linguistically insecure as Acadians. Francophone Quebecers also felt as much intercultural anxiety in the presence of ECs as did minority Acadians and Franco-Ontarians. Thus, the profile of Francophone Quebecers could be portrayed as that of an objectively dominant high-vitality majority still imbued with the psychology of an insecure linguistic minority. Controlling the full power of their provincial public and private institutions, the Quebec Francophone majority has used its ascendancy to adopt language laws which systematically reduced the institutional vitality of the Quebec Anglophone minority (Bourhis 2012; Oakes and Warren 2007).

Acadian respondents had a social-psychological profile coherent with their position as a double-status minority within New Brunswick and Canada. Acadians felt less secure economically and more threatened by the presence of EC migrants than Francophone Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians. Acadians were also more likely to endorse zero-sum beliefs about French-English relations than were Francophone Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians. Finally, Acadians felt more intercultural anxiety in the presence of ECs than did Franco-Ontarians. As members of the demographically smallest Francophone community in our study, the attitudes of our Acadian respondents can be seen as that of a classic threatened linguistic minority whose relations with the regional majority remain somewhat problematic.

Though the social-psychological profile of Franco-Ontarian respondents shared much in common with the profile of the Acadian and Francophone Quebecer undergraduates, they did stand out as the most bilingual/bicultural respondents in our study. When compared to the Acadians and Francophone Quebecers, Franco-Ontarians identified more strongly as bilinguals and as Anglophones while their English language skills and use of English in everyday life was more sustained. Only Franco-Ontarians reported their skills in English to be as strong as their skills in French. Moreover, Franco-Ontarians had a stronger network of ethnolinguistic contacts with Anglophones relative to Acadians and Francophone Quebecers. Franco-Ontarians felt more secure linguistically and economically than the other two groups and felt less intercultural anxiety when relating with ECs than the Acadians. Some analysts might consider Franco-Ontarian undergraduates as having developed a hybrid French/English bilingual identity, which, through subtractive bilingualism, will foster eventual linguistic *assimilation* to the Anglo-Ontarian majority (Landry, Deveau, and Allard 2006). In contrast, others may argue that Franco-Ontarian undergraduates embody the secure, open, additive bilingual/bicultural *integrative* identity espoused by the federal bilingualism policy of rapprochement between Francophone and Anglophone communities across Canada. It is only recently that empirical studies have begun to explore the consequences of Francophone and Anglophone minority group bilingualism most notably on identity, subjective vitality and language use (Freynet and Clément 2015).

Across the three provinces, much support was found for the *two solitudes* hypothesis reflecting the historical rivalries between French and ECs as founding people in Canada. Francophone Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians by far preferred internal FC migrants as well as Francophone immigrants from France and Africa more than co-national EC migrants. Relative to EC migrants, FC migrants were perceived to contribute much more to the vitality of FCs in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario. What is more, there was a significant correlation between the perceived contribution of FC migrants to Francophone vitality and the preference for such migrant groups ($r = +.36$ to $+.40$, $p < .01$). FC undergraduates from each province also felt less threatened in the presence of FC migrants than EC migrants. Conversely, Acadians and Francophone Quebecers felt more anxiety when in contact with ECs than with FCs. Respondents who felt threatened by the presence of EC interprovincial migrants were less likely to see them as contributors to their ingroup vitality while endorsing more polarized zero-sum beliefs towards them. That FCs in the three settings preferred FC migrants and Francophone international immigrants over co-national EC migrants attests to the concerns that FCs had in bolstering their FC vitality relative to that of the EC outgroup vitality. No previous empirical study has shown how migrants can be so clearly perceived as contributing or not to the vitality of majority and minority regional communities. These findings have theoretical implications for the ethnolinguistic vitality framework as they show that linguistic communities can be quite strategic in their assessment of demolinguistic and institutional support measures that are most likely to contribute to the strengthening or weakening of their own group vitality while also being aware of measures most likely to support or undermine the vitality of rival outgroup language communities.

The *two solitudes* hypothesis was also supported by our mediation analyses. FC endorsement of zero-sum beliefs and their perception of EC's contribution to ingroup vitality partially mediated the relationship between feeling of threat from the presence of ECs and rejection of EC migrants. Could the 'us-them' polarization of French-English perceptions be a side effect of Canada's Official Bilingualism policy supporting the community vitality of its language minorities? We recall that the federal policy of Official bilingualism had the fundamental goal of fostering the co-existence of Canada's linguistic communities, not in the spirit of intercultural competition but of mutual understanding and support. However, enduring Quebecois Francophone nationalist sentiments and Acadian historical loyalties are more likely to account for the relationship between feelings of threat, endorsement of zero-sum beliefs and rejection of EC migrants than potentially negative effects of Canada's federal official language laws.

There was some support for the *three solitudes* hypothesis proposing that Francophone Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians developed distinctive provincial identities playing down

features of their shared identity as Francophone minorities across Canada. While FCs in the three provincial settings shared the perception that EC migrants contribute least to their ingroup French vitality, the three FC groups were consistent in perceiving their respective provincial ingroup as contributing more to their ingroup vitality than out of province FC migrants, who are probably seen as identifying less with local Francophone culture. Taken together, these patterns are in line with classic Social Identity Theory processes accounting for how groups tend to socially differentiate themselves from salient outgroups as they seek to achieve and maintain their positive social identity (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977). Our results can thus be seen as reflecting the historical divergence over the last few decades of the Francophone Quebecers, Acadians and Franco-Ontarians leading to distinctive sociocultural French communities. Contemporary Quebec nationalism considered FCs in the ROC as a lost cause, which in turn led Acadian and Franco-Ontarian communities to slowly distance themselves from Francophone Quebecers. Future studies could investigate Francophone Quebecers' feelings of distinctiveness and ambivalence towards minority Francophone communities in the ROC (Mougeon 1998). Despite symbolic solidarity ties announced in some Quebec political party platforms (Denault 2008), Quebecois government policies have sometimes sided with English-majority provinces in repressing Francophone minority rights for the sake of not granting equivalent rights to the Anglophone minority in Quebec (Behiels 2004).

Marginal support for the common ingroup identity hypothesis was observed with Francophone respondents in New Brunswick and Ontario who identified more as Canadians than as Acadians and Franco-Ontarians, respectively. However, results obtained with Francophone Quebecers were distinctive in providing little support for the *common ingroup identity* hypothesis as they identified much more as Québécois than as Canadians. Results also showed that ingroup favouritism was less pronounced among Franco-Ontarians than was the case for Acadians and Francophone Quebecers. Note that up to the 1990s, Franco-Ontarians had difficulty including out-of-province Francophones as 'authentic' contributors to their ancestral community. Realizing that language shift to English was not abating, community leaders encouraged the inclusion of interprovincial and international Francophone migrants. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Ontario government-funded *Office of Francophone Affairs* recently promoted using a broader definition of Ontario Francophones to include those of diversified backgrounds. With such Francophones contributing to an increase in the size of the Franco-Ontarian minority, both the Federal and Ontario Governments are better able to justify improvements to the institutional support provided to this linguistic minority. More inclusive attitudes towards interprovincial and international Francophone migrants obtained with our Ontario University respondents attest to this growing trend among Franco-Ontarians.

Future research on the representations of history within Canada's bilingual belt is proposed given that collective memories can not only be linked to shared collective identity, cohesiveness and solidarity (Liu and Hilton 2005), but can also shape current perceptions of one's ingroup vitality prospects relative to rival outgroups, past and present (Wohl and Branscombe 2008). Collective memories of victimhood are shared perceptions that the ingroup suffered intentional harm with lasting consequences from the undeserved harmful actions of rival outgroups. Studies have shown that once a group has been victimized, current intergroup events can be interpreted as a continuation of historical victimization (Noor, Shnabel, Halabi, and Nadler 2012). As seen in the socio-historical accounts of the Quebecois Francophone, Acadian and Franco-Ontarian communities, Francophones can invoke past events that they feel testify to the wrongs their own group has suffered from the nefarious actions of Anglophone outgroups. Thus, future research on the historical representations of victimhood may partially account for why, despite their dominant provincial majority status, Francophone Quebecers share feelings of threat and linguistic insecurity with objectively weaker vitality Acadian and Franco-Ontarian minorities. Such research along with studies on the rhetoric of nationalism in Quebec could further test the validity of the two solitude and three solitude hypotheses, which have public policy implications for the cohesion of Canada.

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